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A HISTORY OF
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

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Founder of St. Paul's School
[Frontispiece,

A HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

BY

MICHAEL F. J. McDONNELL

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH FORTY-EIGHT PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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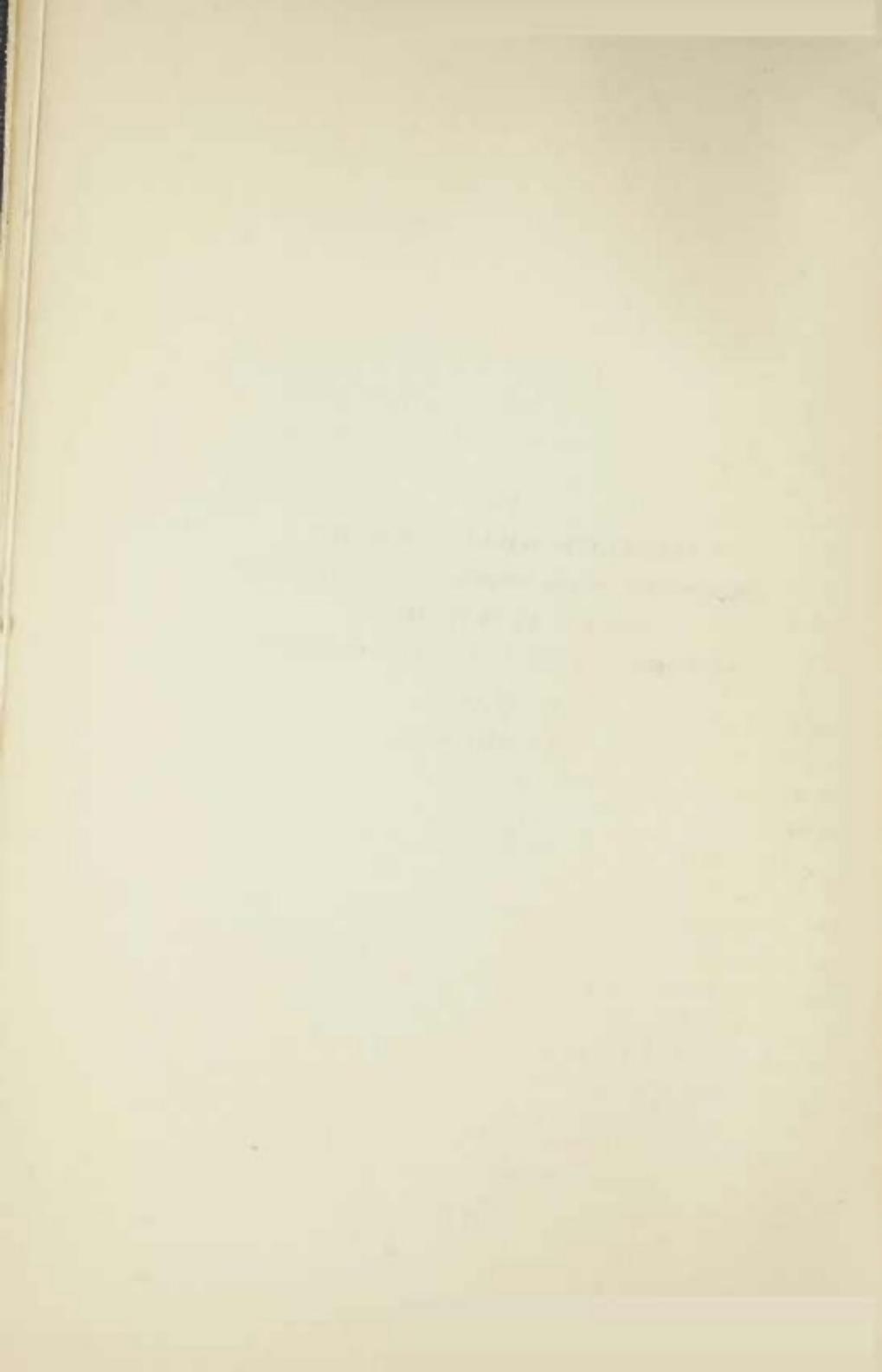
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TO
FREDERICK WILLIAM WALKER
THE GREATEST OF THE SUCCESSORS OF WILLIAM LILY
THIS BOOK IS, BY PERMISSION,
DEDICATED AS A SMALL TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
BY HIS PUPIL
THE AUTHOR



PREFACE

THE hesitation which I feel in submitting this, the first history of St. Paul's School which has ever been written, to the consideration of the public, and more especially of Old Paulines, would be far greater were it not for the help and advice which I have received from the high master. Dr. Hillard read a portion of the MS. at a very early stage, and I doubt if I should have completed it but for the encouragement which he gave me.

I owe many acknowledgments to the researches of the late Dr. Lupton, and if on some questions of fact I show in these pages that I differ from the conclusions at which he arrived, I do so with all deference to a distinguished scholar.

My thanks are also due to the surmaster, the Rev. R. B. Gardiner, from whose Registers of the school much of my information has necessarily been derived. I must also acknowledge his kindness in lending me many MS. notes, including a short outline of the history of the school.

To the Rev. R. J. Walker I am indebted for the loan of an ancient MS. volume, but more than this, I must tender him my thanks for constant help from the vast store of information concerning the school which he possesses.

Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., to whom I presented myself as a complete stranger, not merely allowed me free access to his enormous and valuable collection of MSS., but

with remarkable generosity allowed me to keep in my possession, for several weeks, many of the most important of the Postlethwayt letters. I have gladly availed myself of the kind offer of Mr. R. C. Seaton, an assistant master in the school, to revise the manuscript of Chapter XXII, and I must also acknowledge the courtesy of Colonel Montague Clementi, O.P., in sending me a number of documents bearing on the same subject.

My thanks and those of my readers are due to Mr. C. M. Thomas, an assistant master in the school, for the labour and care which he has devoted to the task of photographing the portraits in the Great Hall, with a view to reproduction in this volume. Mr. Harris, the art master, has been kind enough to allow me to reproduce three of his drawings. Mr. P. Holden, the assistant art master, has allowed me to reproduce his drawing of the interior of the third school, and Mr. Birch, O.P., has given me leave to reproduce his photograph of the present school building. I have further to acknowledge assistance received from the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Mr. Laurence Binyon, O.P., Professor Lethaby, and the authorities at the school; in particular, Mr. Bewsher, the bursar, and Mr. John Lupton, O.P., the librarian of the boys' library.

Finally, I have received help from the librarians of St. Paul's Cathedral, Lambeth Palace, the Guildhall, and Sion College. The portrait of Lord Truro is reproduced by permission of Mr. Emery Walker, and that of the late high master by permission of Messrs. Russell of Baker Street.

*Lamb Building, Temple,
August 1909.*

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A HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF ST. PAUL'S

THERE can be no doubt that a school existed from very early times under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. Papal injunctions as early as the eighth century required that every conventional church should have a school adjoining it, and under its immediate care and control. Hence arose the ancient proverb, "Wherever there is a monastery there is a school."

The decree of the Eleventh General Council of the Lateran, held in 1179, which provides that "in every Cathedral Church a master ought to teach poor scholars as has been accustomed," and the further order that "the like also should be restored in other Churches and Monasteries, if in times past any such have belonged to them, and have been taken away," clearly indicates the antiquity of many cathedral schools.

The first reference which is known to be extant concerning the school attached to the Cathedral of St. Paul in London is to be found among the Harleian MSS. It occurs in a charter¹ by which Richard de Belmeis or Beaumes,

¹ Harl. MSS., No. 6956.

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fully disposed to laugh, with wrinkled noses redouble their shrill guffaws."

The termination of this passage, which is a quotation from *Persius*,¹ is interesting in view of what is frequently said as to the teaching in the old grammar schools.

Fitzstephen, who after being Dean of Arches became Judge of the King's Court, writing of St. Paul's as the school of the city par excellence (*scole urbis*) states that Thomas à Becket, the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury, was educated there before he proceeded to the University of Paris.

The next reference to this school in point of time, which is known to be extant, occurs towards the end of the twelfth century in a record which states that "Richard, surnamed Nigel, who sat Bishop here in King Richard I's time, gave unto this school all the tithes arising in his demesnes at Fulham and Orsett, for the receipts of them in gathering."²

Shortly after this date Radulphus de Seleham gave lands in Lodesword to the Magister scholarum of the Church of St. Paul. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, as we have seen, this title became lost in that of Chancellor, and Henry de Cornhull, who held that post in 1217, by his will left his house on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard to his successors for ever on payment of one mark on each anniversary of his death.

Nothing is known of the history of the school for nearly a century after this, but in 1308 Ralph de Baldock confirmed the tithes of Ealing, which nearly two hundred years before had been granted to the Chancellor of the cathedral, on condition that that official should, either in person or by deputy, read a lecture in divinity.

¹ *Pers.* III. 87.

² Newcourt, vol. i. p. 307; vol. ii. p. 454.

It has been suggested that Chaucer was educated at the cathedral grammar school. There is no evidence in support of the surmise, but if it is correct he must have entered the school less than a quarter of a century after the confirmation of this grant.

Dr. Lupton¹ called attention to a document preserved among the Harleian MSS. which he supposed had reference to this school. The manuscript is a will made in the early part of the reign of Edward III by William de Tolleshunte, almoner of St. Paul's, who died in 1320, by which he bequeathed for the use of the boys living and studying in the almonry a library of books which included all the main subjects of academic teaching.

The fact that the bequest in this case was left to the almonry shows that it had no reference to the cathedral grammar school under the control of the Chancellor. It was left for the benefit of the choristers who were under the independent care of the almoner, whose singing school, according to the statutes of Baldock and Lisieux, was held in the Church of St. Gregory, closely adjoining the cathedral.²

In 1393 a petition was presented to the King in Parliament by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Martin le Grand, and the Chancellor of St. Paul's, having for its purpose the assertion of the privileges of the three old schools which extended to the suburbs as well as to the city, and the desire to put down "certain strangers feigning themselves masters of grammar, not sufficiently learned in that faculty, who against law and custom hold general schools of grammar in deceit and fraud of children, to the great prejudice of your lieges and of the jurisdiction of Holy Church."

¹ *Life of Colet*, p. 155.

² W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 22.



the writing of Bishop Tunstall appended to one of Colet's MSS. at Corpus which may well make Paulines blush for the carelessness of their predecessors. It runs, "Supersunt multa ab eodem Joanne Colet scripta in D. Paulum, sed puerorum incuria perierunt."

In many of the points which the lecturer made, it is interesting to trace opinions similar to those expanded by his friend Sir Thomas More, in the *Utopia*. The principle of a community of property on which the Utopian republic rests, the preference of the most disadvantageous peace to the most just war, the Lord Chancellor's denunciation of the manner in which those who administered the laws punished people for their ignorance of that which they themselves should have taught them, are all points in which More preached exactly what Colet had some years earlier said at Oxford.

In 1498, Colet made the acquaintance of Erasmus, to whom he was introduced by Richard Charnock, the prior of the Augustinian canons, with whom the Dutch scholar was staying. The friends saw much of each other in the interval which elapsed before the first month of 1500, in which Erasmus left Oxford for the Continent.

During these years at Oxford, Colet held various benefices, notably the vicarage of Stepney. This he resigned in 1505, the year of his father's death, and shortly after his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's, in which he succeeded Robert Sherborne, who was promoted to the see of St. David's on the occasion of his embassy to Rome to congratulate Pius III on his election to the Pontificate.

The commanding personality of John Colet, which made him, although not the most scholarly of the group, stand out as the central figure among the English humanists, has led various writers to make *ex parte* state-

ments concerning his religious views, and his alleged influence on the Reformation in England.

This is not the place in which to enter upon a discussion of the religious views of a man whom Milman called the "greatest of the Deans of St. Paul's," but it must be remembered that he was the spiritual director of Sir Thomas More, a martyr who ranks among the *Beati* of the Catholic Church.

The statements so freely made concerning Colet's contempt for the inmates of monasteries and religious houses are unworthy of attention in view of the Dean's intimacy with John Sowle, the Carmelite of Whitefriars, Jehan Vitrier, the Franciscan of St. Omer, and Richard Charnock, the Oxford Augustinian; while the fact that he chose the monastery of the Carthusians at Sheen as the place in which to retire to die finally disposes of the suggestion.

Dr. Lupton¹ evidently viewed with suspicion the uncorroborated statement of Tyndale that Fitzjames, the Bishop of London, would have fain prosecuted Colet for translating the *Paternoster* into English. The absurdity of the charges of heresy which, according to Erasmus, were brought against him by the Bishop, is obvious, not only from the fact that they were dismissed by Archbishop Warham, but also when it is remembered that the main accusation against Colet was that he taught that devotion should not be paid to images.

In the place of honour in the school which he built, Colet placed an image of the Christ Child, to whom, with his Blessed Mother, he dedicated the foundation; and it is hard to believe that the chantry chapel which he endowed in the school, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, contained no presentments of its patron saints.

¹ Lupton, *Colet*, p. 202.

Whether this was the case or not, the dedication both of the school and of its chapel, and the inclusion in the Catechyson of the Ave Maria and another prayer to Our Lady, as well as the precept "Worship Chryst Jesu and his moder Mary," are all facts which completely dispose of Dr. Kynaston's approving comment on "the absence of all mariolatry from the religious exercises and statutes appointed by Colet."¹

Bishop Hugh Latimer² recalled the charges against Colet in a sermon preached many years afterwards, and distorted the facts when he said that "he should have been burnt if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary." Colet, had he lived, could have had little sympathy with Latimer, who forwarded to London the figure of Our Lady, which he had thrust out of his cathedral church at Worcester, with the rough words of scorn that "She, with her old sister of Walsingham, her younger sister of Ipswich, and their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice, would make a jolly muster at Smithfield when they were burnt."

A letter written by Sir Thomas More³ to an anonymous monk in 1520 contains a defence of Erasmus against an imputation of heresy, and says that his orthodoxy is proved by his intimacy with Colet, Fisher, Warham, Mountjoy, Tunstall, Pace and Grocyn. The stress laid by More on Colet's position in this matter is very significant, and it is hard to say otherwise than that the Lutheran Reformation, had he lived, would have found him, not on the side of Latimer and Ridley, but on that of Fisher and More.

No trace of sympathy with any aspect of the Reformation is to be found in the lives of either of the two first

¹ Kynaston, *The Number of the Fish*.

² *Latimer's Sermons*, Parker Soc. 440.

³ Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., pt. i, No. 567.

high masters of the school, of whom the second was appointed to the surmasteryship by Colet himself.

Lily's son became the right-hand man of Cardinal Pole. The high master was himself on terms of intimacy with William Horman, Vice-Provost of Eton, who presented various relics of Christ and the saints to the college chapel. Both Lily and Ritwise identified themselves with Horman by prefixing epigrams to his school-book entitled *Vulgaria*, which is full of references to the Blessed Virgin, such as the sentences, "The holynes of Our Lady pulled God out of heaven," and "Our Lady's ymage ought to stande gylte in a tabernacle upon a base of marble."

William Lily¹ was also himself the author of verses, *De laudibus deiparae Virginis*; and the play by Ritwise, of which we have some account, was all in the interests of allegiance to the Holy See, "the heretic Luther" being held up to special reprobation.

¹ *Pitzaeus de Angliae Scriptoribus*, p. 697.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL

WE are able to follow in some detail the various legal steps taken by Colet in founding his school.

The first mention of the school in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company occurs on April 9, 1510,¹ where "it was shown by Master Thomas Baldry, Mercer, that Master Dr. Colet, Dean of Paul's, had desired him to show unto the company that he is disposed for the foundation of his school to mortify certain lands which he holds that the company should have, if they would be bound to maintain the said school according to the foundation." One of the wardens and the above-named member of the company were put into communication with the Dean, and on April 16 they reported that "the said Master Dean was very glad that he might have with us communication thereof in whom he proposeth to put all the rule and governance of the said school."

That the school was in existence before this date is to be seen from the fact that there is extant an indenture,² dated July 1, 1 Henry VIII, 1509, whereby Colet and the Mercers' Company grant to one William Gerge, his heirs and assigns, a certain manor in the County of Hertford, on condition that

¹ Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Public Schools Bill, 1865, p. 10.

² Appendix to Third Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820, p. 164.

the grantee, his heirs and assigns, should pay to the company for ever £8 for the use of the school.

In the early part of the following year, Colet, being anxious to secure a licence under which the Mercers could acquire lands in mortmain, presented a *Supplicatio ad Regiam Maiestatem*, in which he craved leave "to geve and to mortyse landies and tenementis of the clere yearly value of fifty and three pounds, in the countie of Birk, to som body corporat at his denomynacion." The petition set out¹ how Colet, "to the pleasure of God and for and in augmentation and encrease, as well of connynge as of vertuose lyving w'in this your realme, hathe now of late edifyed within the cimitory of the said cathedrall churche a scholehouse (wherein he purposith that children as well borne as to be borne w'yn youre saide citie as elsewhere) to the same repaying shall not oonly in contynuance be substanciallly taughte & lernyd in Laten tung, but also instructe & informed in vertuouse condicions."

The reply to this petition, a warrant by letters patent of the King, was delivered on June 6, 1510. These letters patent, which may be considered as the original charter of the school, gave permission to the Mercers' Company to acquire lands in mortmain to the annual value of £53, for the better support of one master and one or two ushers in the school which John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, had founded.

A month later, on July 27, according to a document the source of which has never been stated,² the Chapter and Chancellor of St. Paul's granted the site of the old school, its buildings and all its rights to the Dean. The Chapter told how—

"By antient, lawful, and laudable prescription, as well as

¹ Appendix to Third Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820, p. 161.

² *Times*, April 2, 1904.

by the statutes and laudable customs of the said Cathedral church, the master of the grammar school of the said Church of St. Paul's, London, for the time being, has always been a member of our body, and has the right of entry to the choir of the said church during divine service, and of a seat in a fitting stall in the accustomed place there, whether he is a priest or a layman, so long as he appears in a proper surplice. And whereas, both in his own person and for his own house or inn, he has always enjoyed the same liberty as the master of the house of the alms boys (*i. e.* the choristers). Therefore we take into our body and that of our church Master William Llyl, the first master of the new school of St. Paul's, and his successors in office, and that he and his successors in office may exercise their office quietly in the premisses and be diligent in the teaching of the boys. . . . We grant that the master, the school and the house may be free from all parochial exactions, and enjoy the same privilege as the alms boys' house of the said church enjoys, and that in that house they need recognize no curate except the cardinals of St. Paul's, from whom they ought to receive all sacraments and sacramentals."

Curate, of course, means *cure*, a person in cure of souls; and the cardinals were the senior minor canons.

Further, according to the same authority, "Colet obtained from 'the most holy father the Pope' a Bull confirming the exemption of his school from the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of St. Paul's." In his application he described how, "at his own proper cost, he had caused to be built a certain school in the city of London, in the place or churchyard of the Cathedral church of London, a spot, indeed, which was the chief and most frequented and, as it were, the very eye of the city, where already there was a school, plainly of no importance, now newly built from the foundation in most beautiful stone-work and endowed."

The Mercers' minutes record¹ that on September 23, 1510, Colet was present at a Court of the company, and related how he had obtained the mortmain licence from the King, and the minutes go on to say that "the said Master Dean showed unto the company that for such labours and business as they and their successors should have in the ordering of the said school that they should have in this city of London upon the payment of forty-four marks by year in rents." No trace is to be found of any conveyance to the company of lands in the city worth forty-four marks a year, and it was mainly on this entry that the Mercers depended in the claim set up by them in the nineteenth century, the gist of which was that, after providing on a liberal scale for the expenses of the school, the surplus rents and profits were to vest in the company for its own absolute use and benefit.

On March 23, 1511, the building of the old grammar school of the cathedral—"My grammar-house, a messuage lately called Paul's School," as Colet calls it in his will of 1514—was vested in three citizens and Mercers of London as trustees for the company. They reconveyed the property to the Dean, and the actual endowment of the new school with the building and site of the old did not take effect until the death of the Dean, when it vested in the company under the provisions of Colet's will, executed in 1514.²

In the inventory of "the landis of the scole" affixed to the statutes, the first item relates to the "olde scole," the annual value of which is there stated to be twenty shillings. The reason for the conveyance by Colet to the three Mercers, and for their reconveyance to him, was that Colet, as Dean, could not convey directly to Colet as a private individual. On July 12, 1511, Colet, pursuant to "the

¹ Report of Public Schools Commission, 1864, vol. ii. p. 586.

² R. B. Gardiner, *Registers of St. Paul's School*, vol. i. pp. 374, 385.

licence to mortify granted by the King's grace" in the preceding year, executed a deed of conveyance¹ of some two thousand acres of his Buckinghamshire estates to the Mercers' Company "for the continuation of a certain school in the churchyard of the Church of St. Paul, for boys in the same school in good manners and literature to be taught, and for the support of one master and one usher or two ushers of the same, and other things necessary there to be done according to the ordinances of me the aforesaid John Colet, my heirs or escheators."

On September 6, in the same year, the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral granted to the Mercers' Company a piece of vacant land at the east end of the chapel of St. Dunstan of the Church of St. Paul, 21 feet long by 9 feet broad, to hold for ninety-nine years at the rent of a red rose, renewable at the end of every ninety-nine years for ever. This piece of land, which, from the plan in Dugdale's history of the cathedral, is seen to have been at the south-east angle of the choir and south of the chapel of St. Mary, was between the two southernmost of the four buttresses of the cathedral, and was the site on which, after having been used for other purposes, was built a lodge for the porter in 1573, and a house for the under usher in 1588.² On November 4, 1511, Colet devised by will numerous messuages, lands, and tenements in London to the Mercers, for the same purpose as that for which he had transferred the estates in Buckinghamshire *inter vivos*.³

The Acts of Court of the Company state that on March 30 and June 15, 1512, it was resolved⁴ that "communication should be made with Master Dean of Paul's to

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 371.

² App. to Rep. of Commrs. on Chars., 1820, p. 163.

³ Brewer, vol. i. 1933; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 284.

⁴ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 7; Select Committee of House of Lords on Public Schools Bill, 1865, p. 10.

had not been used for a considerable period for the purpose its name would imply. The statement of Stow which has been referred to is this, "As divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses whereof they were members in the reign of Henry VIII have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected and founded for them, as, namely, St. Paul's School in place of an old ruined house, was built in a most ample manner, and largely endowed in the year 1512 by John Collett."¹

The interpretation of this, it is submitted, is that the "old ruined house" was not the old school-house, but the building on the site of which Colet built his new school, and some corroboration of this is afforded by a passage in the *Grey Friars Chronicle*, in which, speaking of the storm on January 15, 1505-6, which drove Philip the Fair into Weymouth harbour, the writer says,² "That same nyghte it blewe downe the weddercocke of Powles steppule the lengthe of the est ende of Powlles church vn-to the syne of the blacke egylle at that tyme was lowe howses of bokebynderes wher nowe is the scole of Powles."

Francis Bacon's account of the same incident in his *History of King Henry VII* is more explicit, and suggests enough damage to make the low houses of bookbinders be aptly described as ruined. The great tempest, he says, "blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Paul's churchyard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down : which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl."

It must be admitted that none of the earliest writers say a word to suggest that Colet, in founding his school, was not starting completely *ab initio*. Stow, on the other hand,

¹ Kingsford's edition of *Stow*, 1908, p. 73.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 185.

appears to have had no doubt that Colet grafted his foundation upon an old stock, for he speaks of "Powles Schoole, lately new founded and endowed."¹

The arguments which are used to suggest that Colet did not take over the existing cathedral grammar school are all directed to show that the cathedral grammar school continued concurrently with Colet's new school of St. Paul's.

Dr. Lupton, who, it must be premised, never distinguishes the cathedral grammar school from the cathedral singing school, has summarized the arguments on this point. He quotes the case of Thomas Tusser, which will be dealt with later, but since he comes to the conclusion that he was educated at the singing school it does not concern us now. That of William Harrison may also be passed over, since Dr. Lupton assigns him to Colet's school, on the evidence which is extant.²

Dr. Lupton then quotes an entry from the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, for 1548, "Item payd to the Scolle Mr. of Polles for wrytyng of the masse in Englysh & ye benedictes vs." The presumption in this case, Dr. Lupton asserts, is that the cathedral school is referred to, the reason given for this inference being that "it was the special duty of the grammar master of the choristers to write out the bills or service papers." This statement is supported by an extract from the ancient cathedral statutes,³ "Quod magister scholarum tabulam lectureae scribat vel scribi faciat vice cancellarii." The words of the statute show that the master of the cathedral grammar school, not of the singing school, was charged with the duty, and the entry is of no value as indicating a continuance of that grammar school if, as is contended,

¹ Kingsford, *Stow*, p. 332.

² Lupton, *Colet*, pp. 157-159.

³ W. S. Simpson, *Reg. Stat.* p. 78.

Another payment was made in 1590, and finally, in 1601, Edward Piers received a similar sum. I do not think it is possible to follow the accepted view set out by Dr. Lupton that the players of these interludes during the first twenty-eight years of Elizabeth's reign had no connection with Colet's school.

Rightwise and his pupils were referred to in the State papers of 1527¹ as "the master of Paul's and the children," and were engaged to act at Court and before Cardinal Wolsey at least four times. On at least three occasions in the ten years from 1537 to 1546, and twice within a few months in the year 1555, religious processions took place through the streets of London, in all of which, according to different chroniclers, the "children of Paul's School" took part. Colet had provided in his statutes that "In general processions whenne they be warnyd they shall goo tweyn and tweyn togither soberly and not sing out but say deuoutly tweyn and tweyn viij psalmes with the latany," and in confirmation of the strong presumption that the "children of Paul's" who took part in the procession were boys of Dean Colet's school, William Harrison writes in his Chronology,² under the date 1544, "The children of Pawles School, whereof I was one at that time, were inforced to buy these booke" (*i.e.* "the Letany in thenglish towng"), "wherewith we went in generall procession, as it was then appointed, before the King went to Bullen" (Boulogne). The value of this statement lies in the fact that it would not be likely that the choristers should have to buy their own service-books, while Dean Colet's "Articles of Admission" expressly provide that a boy's parents shall "fynde hym convenient bokes to his lernynge."

Enough has been said to show that by the "children of

¹ Brewer, *Let. and Pap.*, vol. i., pt. ii., 3564.

² Harrison's *Description of England*, p. li., ed. Furnivall, 1877.

Paul's" is not necessarily meant the choir school. There is strong evidence, moreover, to indicate a considerable measure of intercommunication between Colet's school and the choir school, to which attention has hitherto never been drawn.

The choristers of Westminster Abbey were entitled to a free education at St. Peter's College, Westminster, from the date of the foundation of that school until 1848. The fact that the connection between the choristers of St. Paul's and the school in the churchyard disappeared long before that date has caused the existence of such a link to be ignored.

The MS. relating to Sir Thomas Offley, to which reference has already been made, states that "this Thomas Offley became a good grammarian under Mr. Lillie, and understood the Latin tongue perfectly : and because he had a sweet voice he was put to learn prick-song among the choristers of St. Paul's, for that learned Mr. Lillie knew full well that knowledge in music was a help and a furtherance to all arts. *Musica mentis medecina mestis*, for it is a great help to pronunciation and judgment. Pythagoras would admit of no scholar unless he had some perfect knowledge in music : so had this Thomas in both these arts, above his fellows at that tender age."

Thomas Tusser, who writes, "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent," although claimed as a Pauline by Mr. Gardiner¹ is assigned by Dr. Lupton to the choir school owing to his reference to his early career as a choir-boy at Wallingford, and his progress in music under Redford, the organist at St. Paul's Cathedral ; but in view of what we know of Offley's career, and of the Pauline tradition to the effect that in the original MS. of Tusser's autobiography there was an additional stanza in which he referred to Lily as

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 463.

The same must also be said of the plays of the later Elizabethan dramatists which bear on their title page the statement that they were "first enacted by the children of Paul's."

We may claim, then, no mean literary association for the Paulines of the end of the sixteenth century, when we say that they produced for the first time plays by Dekker, Marston, Percy, Middleton, and Beaumont and Fletcher.

A Latin play, entitled *Sapientia Salamonis*, was also acted before Queen Elizabeth by the boys of the school. A MS. copy of this play, which was once in the library of Horace Walpole, is preserved in the British Museum, and has the arms of Elizabeth embossed on the vellum binding. The Queen's interest in the maintenance of her company of boy players is seen from the fact that in 1586 she issued an arbitrary warrant under her sign manual, authorizing "Thomas Giles, Master of the children of the Cathedrall Churche of St. Paule to take up any boys in Collegiate or Cathedrall churches, and to instruct them for the entertainment of the Court so that they might become meete and liable to serve us when our pleasure is to call for them."¹

In less than five years, however, the performances by the boys at St. Paul's were inhibited on account of the personal abuse and scurrility which was put into the mouths of the children, but the prohibition was removed after a very few years, and thus it was that Rosencrantz could speak of "an eyrie of children, little eyasses that cry out on the top of the question and are most tyrannically clapped for it, these are now the fashion and so berattle the stage."²

¹ Collier, *Annals of the Stage*.

² *Hamlet*, Act II. sc. ii. 355.

CHAPTER III

DEAN COLET'S STATUTES

THE provisions of Colet's ordinances are traditionally stated to have been in some measure borrowed from those of the school at Banbury in Oxfordshire, which unfortunately are no longer extant. The statutes of Manchester Grammar School,¹ which was founded fifteen years after St. Paul's, provided that the high master (as he was called there as at St. Paul's) should be "able to teche Childreyn Gramyer after the Scole use, manner and forme of the Scole of Banbury in Oxfordshere, now there taught, wiche is called Stanbridge Gramyer." The same stipulation, in other words, is to be found in connection with the grammar school at Cuckfield, in Sussex.

We do not know whether Colet transcribed the statutes of Banbury School with anything approaching the exactitude with which the founder of Eton copied in many instances those of Winchester College, but this we do know, that Colet's statutes for St. Paul's remained for many years "common form," and that numerous schools, notably those of Manchester and of Merchant Taylors, contain among their statutes what are obviously verbatim extracts from the statutes of St. Paul's, while Wolsey's great though short-lived school at Ipswich copied Colet's school in containing eight classes, as well as in the use of its grammar.

The minutes of the Mercers' Company record that, on

¹ Carlisle, *English Grammar Schools*, ii. 294.

July 17, 1512, "The Boke of Ordinance of the Scole of Powles was exhibited by Mr. Deane." Nothing is known about this "Boke of Ordinance," the earliest known statutes of the school being those declared to have been delivered by the founder to Lily in 1518, of which two copies signed by the founder *manu sua propria* are known to be extant.

Of these, one, which is in the British Museum,¹ appears to be earlier than that which is preserved at Mercers' Hall, since the latter contains, incorporated in the text, corrections which were made in the former.

The statutes of St. Paul's School have been so often reprinted² that it is not necessary to quote them *in extenso* in this place. In the Prologus, in which the Dean states that he is "desyring nothing more thanne Educacion and bringing upp of chyldren in good Maners and litterature," he goes on to say, "and forbecause no thing can continu long and endure in good ordre withoute lawes an statutis I the saide John haue here expressid and shewid my minde what I wolde shulde be truly and diligently obseruid and kept."

The statutes are divided into chapters, "De magistro primario, De submagistro, Of both maistres at onys, The Chapelyn, The Children, What shall be taught, The Mercers Charge, and Liberte to declare the Statutes." After which comes an inventory of "the landis of the Scole."

It is worth while to compare the provisions of the statutes of St. Paul's School dealing with the high master, with Colet's cathedral ordinance "Of the Grammar Master," which shows how the words and phrases of the latter are, as it were, echoed more than once in the statutes of St. Paul's School.

¹ Addit. MSS. 6274.

² R. B. G., vol. i. p. 375; Lupton, *Colet*, p. 271.

ANCIENT STATUTE OF
CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR
SCHOOL

"The Master of the Grammar School should be a good & honest man of much & approved learning."

"He shall imbue them" (*i. e.* the children) "at the same time with both chaste learning and holy morals."

(He shall) "be to them a Master not only of Grammar but of Virtue."

COLET'S STATUTES FOR ST.
PAUL'S SCHOOL

(The High Master shall be) "honeste & vertuose & learnyd."

(The Masters shall instruct the children by reading to them) "suych auctours that hath with wisdome Joyned the pure chaste eloquence."

(The Mercers shall say to the High Master :) "Sir, we haue chosyn you . . . to teche . . . not allonly good litterature but also good Maners."

The high master who was to be chosen by the Mercers' Company with the advice of learned men, must be "a man hoole in body honeste and vertuouse and learnyd in good and clene laten litterature and also in greke yf suyche may be gotten a weddid man a single manne or a preste that hath noo benefice with cure nor seruice that may lett his due besynes in the scole." The statutes of Eton, it may be noted in passing, required both the master and the undermaster to be unmarried.

The high master, the usher, and the chaplain were all to be appointed subject to a proviso that "this is no Rome of continuance and perpetuite," the election of the first-named being subject to ratification every Candlemas-day on the visitation of the school by the Mercers. The qualifications for the surmasteryship were almost identical with those for the high mastership, but no knowledge of Greek was

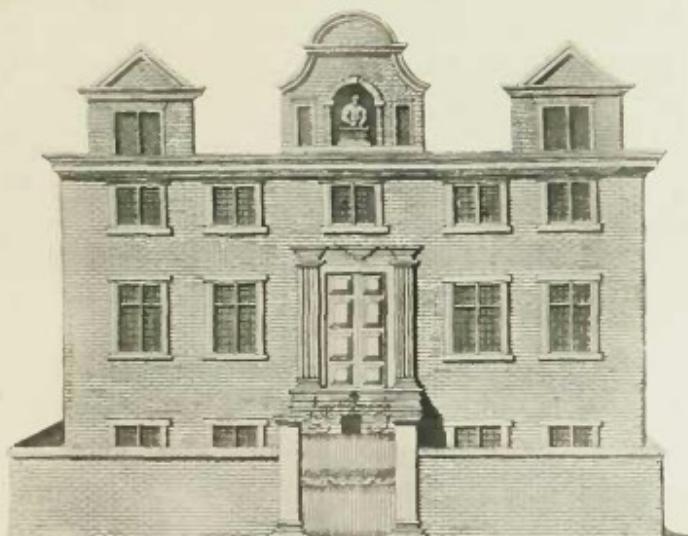
to be required. He was to be appointed and dismissed by the high master subject to the approval of the Mercers.

As to "the Chapelyn," it was provided that "There shalbe also in the Scole a preist that dayly as he can be disposid shall sing masse in the chapell of the Scole and pray for the Children to prosper in good lyff and in goode litterature to the honour of god and our lorde Christ Jesu. At his masse whenne the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacring thenne all the Children in the scole knelyng in theyr Settes shall with lyft up handis pray in the tyme of sacryng. After the sacring whenne the bell knyllith ageyn, they shall sitt downe ageyn to theyr lernyng."

The chaplain, who was nominated by the Mercers, was directed to "teche the children the catechyzon and Instruction of the artycles of faith, and the x commaundements in Inglysh," and also if the high master wished it was to help to teach in the school.

Attention has not hitherto been drawn to one provision in the statutes relating to the masters of the school which is very characteristic of the liberality of Dean Colet, namely, the direction as to the payment of pensions. In the case of their falling ill with a "sekenesse curable" they were to receive their salaries in full. In case the high master contracted an incurable sickness, or were to become too old to teach "lett ther be assignede . . . a reasonable levynge of x li. or other Wyse as it shall seme convenient so that the olde maister after his longe labor in noo wise be lefte destitute." In the event of the surmaster coming to the same pass, he was committed to the charity of the Mercers, who were to provide him with a pension from the surplus of the school funds, the founder "praying theme to be charitable in that behalff."

The salary of the high master was fixed at a mark a week, or in other words £34 13*s.* 4*d.* In addition to this



THE HIGH MASTER'S COUNTRY HOUSE AT STEPNEY.

From Knight's "Life of Colet."

[To face p. 36.]



he was entitled to "a levery gowne of iiiij nobles delyueryd in cloth," the value of which brought his income up to £36 a year. Further, he was given free lodgings in the school and a house at Stepney "to resorte vnto." A writer in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*¹ appears to have ignored this fact when he says "that the head master of Shrewsbury, who in 1578 received £40 a year, held what was "far the best paid headship in England."

The salary of the surmaster was just half that of the high master, and in addition he was to have a livery gown of four nobles, as to which it may be observed that this was not a mere academic ornament over the coat, but the chief part of a man's raiment, as may be seen in its survival in the blue coat of the boys of Christ's Hospital.

The chaplain was to be paid £7 a year, and his livery gown was to cost £1 5s. 7d. instead of £1 6s. 8d., which was the price paid for those of his colleagues.

Erasmus speaks of the masters as receiving "ample salaries," George Lily of their being paid "liberal stipends," and a very good impression of the high position which Colet intended that his school should occupy can be gathered from a comparison of the salaries of the masters of St. Paul's with those of other schools.

In 1443, three years after the foundation of the college, the Provost of Eton was paid £75, the head master £16, and the usher £10.² Twenty-five years later, owing to the depreciation of revenues, the salary of the provost was reduced to £20, that of the head master to £10, and that of the usher to £4. The Commissioners of Henry VIII reported in 1546 that the provost was paid only £30, and it was not till two years later that the head master was paid the full amount sanctioned by the founder.

¹ Vol. iii. Article on Univs. and Schools.

² Lyte, p. 67.

the Statutes," one of the most far-sighted of all Colet's provisions, drafted in a very different spirit from that which impelled Wykeham at Winchester, Waynefleet at Eton and King's, or Fisher at St. John's and Christ's, in which he declared, "I leve it hooly to theyr dyscretion and Charite I meane of the Wardens and assistences of the fellowshipp with suych other counsell as they shall call vnto theme good litterid and lernyd menne, They to adde and diminish vnto this boke and to supply in it euery defaute, And also to declare in it euery obscurite and derkenes as tyme and place and iust occasion shall requyre calling the dredefull god to loke vpon theme in all suych besynes, And exorting theme to fere the terrible Jugement of god which seith in derkenes and shal rendre to euery manne according to his werkes."

The frequently quoted letter from Erasmus to Justus Jonas contains the reason for Colet's choice of a city guild as the trustees of his endowment. "Over the revenues and entire management," he writes, "he set neither priests, nor the Bishop nor the chapter (as they call it), but some married citizens of established reputation; and when asked the reason, he said that though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in them." In another place¹ Erasmus added to the same statement as to the reasons of the Dean's choice, "and though this provision did not by any means free him from anxiety, he said that as human affairs then were, this course appeared to him the least hazardous."

¹ *Dialogus de recta . . . pronuntiatione*, 1643, p. 27.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUBJECTS OF STUDY, THE SCHOOL-BOOKS, AND THE BUILDING OF THE SCHOOL

THAT part of Colet's statutes which provides for "what shalbe taught," after stating that "it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler," then goes on to say that Colet's intention in founding the school is to increase the knowledge and worship of God.

"And for that intent I will the Chyldren lerne ffirſt aboue all the Catechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence which I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke callid Copia of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian as lactantius prudencius & proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus and ſuche other as shalbe tought convenient and moſte to purpose vnto the true laten spech, all barbarie all corrucion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysenyd the old laten spech and the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgil and Terence was vsid which also ſaint Jerome and ſaint ambrose and ſaint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes, I ſay that fylthynesſe and all ſuch abuſyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which

scarcity of Greek scholars. Colet himself in 1516 deplored the fact that he had not been able to learn Greek ; but from the occurrence in an epistle of Erasmus of later date of the phrase, "Coletus strenue Graecatur," it is evident that he endeavoured towards the end of his life to repair the deficiency. According to the same authority, John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, who began the study of Greek late in life, was dissuaded by William Latimer from attempting it unless he could procure a teacher from Italy.

Attempts have been made to discredit the assertion that St. Paul's under Lily was the first English public school in which Greek was taught, and some colour has been lent to the negative contention by the fact that although on Colet's death Erasmus, in one of his letters, describes the course of education at the school in some detail and in a strain of high panegyric, he makes no allusion to the study of Greek. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that Colet should not have insisted on the carrying out of his own statute as to the studies of the boys, in which he says, "I wolde they were taught always in good literature both Latin and Greke."

Better evidence than this is, however, forthcoming. In March 1512 Colet wrote to Erasmus, "Do not forget the verses for our boys which I want you to compose with all your facility and sweetness," and in answer to this request Erasmus, among other verses from his pen, which were hung up in the school-room, wrote the *Sapphicum Carmen*, which began—

"Haec ruditis (tanquam nova testa), pubes
Literas Graias simul et Latinas,
Et fidem sacram tenerisque CHRISTUM
Conbibet annis."

In the accounts of Thomas Linacre, who acted as executor of William Grocyn in 1520, Lily, who was

Grocyn's godson, is seen to have been one of the largest beneficiaries under the will. The entry runs—

"Item, sent to Loven by Mr. Lylly for Greeke booke to gyve xl s."

In view of this large purchase of Greek books by the high master of St. Paul's, it is worth noting that in the day book or ledger of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller, which is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, are recorded all the books sold by him during the year 1520, the same year as that in which Lily received his bequest. The only Greek books out of over 2000 that John Dorne sold were one volume of Aristophanes, and one volume of Lucian.

Thomas More, in his letter to Peter Giles prefixed to the *Utopia*, and written in 1516, speaks of the "Latin and Greek learning of John Clement," one of Lily's pupils, at a time when he can but recently have left the school, and the fact that Lupset and Clement, two of Lily's pupils, lectured in succession to each other in Greek at Oxford, makes it impossible to believe that they did not learn at least the rudiments of the language while at St. Paul's less than ten years before.

One writer¹ has with extreme rashness claimed for Winchester College "that there can hardly be a doubt that the school of Grocyn, Chandler, Warham, officially visited by the two latter, took the lead in the introduction of Greek into the curriculum of schools." Apart from the fact that if Greek was being taught at Winchester at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Colet would not have provided for a high master with a knowledge of Greek "if such may be gotten," the only scintilla of evidence adduced in support of this statement lies in the occurrence in the

¹ Leach, *History of Winchester*, p. 229.

and obscure, and thereby incurred Linacre's displeasure, but Erasmus intervened to make peace between the friends.

It is interesting to note, however, that Linacre's Latin grammar, as revised for the use of the Princess Mary, when translated from the vernacular into Latin, was adopted as the standard grammar in France, where it remained in use for many years, just as did that of Lily in England.

Lily's Latin grammar, strictly so called, is not the Latin syntax written in English, appended to Colet's *Accidence*, but a Latin syntax with the rules written in Latin, which appears never to have been printed along with the *Aeditio*. The earliest edition known, of which a copy is preserved in the school library without the printer's name or the place of printing, bears on its title-page, "Absolutissimus de Octo Orationis partiu constructione libellus . . . nuperrime uigilatissima cura recognitus." This shows that it was not the first edition. The Latin letter prefixed to it, addressed by Colet to "Lili charissime," is dated 1513, but the book was printed in 1515, probably at Louvain. Although identified with the name of Lily, Erasmus had such a share in revising the first draft of this grammar that his friend modestly refused to admit the authorship, and it appeared for some time anonymously. The editions of this book which are known to have been produced are far more numerous than those of Colet's *Accidence*. A fragment of an edition of 1521-2, printed by the famous Siberch at Cambridge, was found in the Chapter House at Westminster¹ about twenty years ago. Editions of 1529, 1530 and 1532 are also extant, the last two printed in Paris. A copy of that of 1532 is in the school. To each of these different appendices are added, and the edition of 1539, of which there is in the Pepysian library at Magdalen a copy which Cromleholme, the high master, presented to the diarist, is expressly stated to be "ad

¹ By E. Gordon Duff, *v. Academy*, Nov. 30, 1889.

verum Paulinae scholae exemplum." These diversities furnished a plea for the issue in 1540 by royal authority of a grammar destined to become a national text-book for a longer period than any other that can be named. This combined the *Aeditio* and the *Absolutissimus* into one grammar. A quarto copy of the first edition in vellum, printed by Berthelet, which appears to have been intended for the special use of Edward VI, then aged two, is preserved at Lambeth.¹ Its title is "Institutio compendiaria totius grammaticae, quam . . . Rex noster euulgari jussit, ut non alia quam haec una per totam Angliam pueris paelegeretur." The formulary of religious rudiments prefixed to it is very different from that before Colet's *Accidence*.

On the reverse of the title-page of the edition of 1548, a fragment of which is preserved at Lambeth, is set out the proclamation of that year enjoining that it "shuld be openly and priuately redde to al kynd of lerners in euery gramar schole & other places of techyng, and the same and none other to be vsed." This caused the name of *King Edward VI's Latin Grammar* to be given to it. In 1571 a canon was drawn up and passed by the Upper House of Convocation with the object of making the use of the King's Grammar compulsory.

Three years later, in 1574, it was issued with further alterations and with a new title, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generally to be used*, with which is usually bound up *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*.

This is the form in which it was familiar to Shakespeare, who quotes from it in two of his plays, making Sir Toby Belch, in *Twelfth Night*,² say to Sir Andrew Aguecheek, "Not to be in bed before midnight is to be up betimes, and *diliculo surgere*, thou knowest;" while Holofernes, the pedantic

¹ Maitland, *Early Printed Books*, 1843, pp. 207-385, 415.

² Act II. sc. iii.

school-master in *Love's Labour's Lost*,¹ quotes another of its familiar phrases, saying, "If their sons be ingenious they shall want no instruction. . . . But vir sapit qui pauca loquitur." A copy of this edition is preserved among John Selden's books in the Bodleian. It is possible that it was presented to him by the high master of St. Paul's, with whom he was on terms of close friendship.

The further history of the book is not without interest. In 1675 there was read for the first time in the House of Lords a Bill which was not proceeded with, which aimed at effecting uniformity in school-books, and which proposed to punish school-masters for using other grammars than those of Lily and Camden in Latin and Greek respectively.²

In 1732 the booksellers of London employed Dr. John Ward to draw up a revised edition of Lily's Grammar, and, just a quarter of a century later, it underwent a final change, when it was once more transformed and appropriated by Eton, under the title of the *Eton Latin Grammar*.

Charles Lamb, who used this version of the grammar at Christ's Hospital in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in his essay on *The Old and the New Schoolmaster* pokes gentle fun at the stately English of the preamble, in which is set out how, "by the King's Majestie's wisdom," a uniformity is to be desired in the grammars which shall be in use. "With what a savour," writes Elia, "doth the preface to Colet's, or (as it is sometimes called) Paul's Accidence, set forth!"

Goldsmith, in his *Essay on Education*, written in 1759, says: "Of all the various grammars now taught in the schools about town, I would recommend only the old common one: I have forgot whether Lily's or an amendment of him."

¹ Act IV, sc. ii.

² Hist. MS. Com., 9th Rep. App. 2, 1884, p. 63.

In addition to the *Accidence* and the *Syntax* which Colet took care to have prepared for his school, he persuaded Erasmus to dedicate his Latin phrase-book, *Copia Verborum et Rerum*, to St. Paul's, in 1520; and it appears that Richard Pace's *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina Precipitur*, which was published in 1517, was also intended for the use of Paulines from the following passage at the conclusion of the work : "Haec sunt, mi Colete, quibus studiosos literarum juvenes ad doctrinam amplexandam hortendos instruendos que putavi. Quae si tibi vel juvenibus tuis, qui per te publice erudiuntur, placere intellexero, operam me non lusisse judicabo."

Colet refers in his statutes to the translation into Latin verse of his *Catechyzon*, where he speaks of "Institutum Christiani hominis which that learnyd Erasmus made at my request," and from the same pen came the Carmen Iambicum which was hung up in the "proscholion."

The Sapphic ode beginning—

"Sedes haec puero sacra est Jesu,"

which was placed above the representation of the Child Jesus, was also written by Erasmus, as was the distich which stood below it, and ran—

"Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
Moribus, inde pias addite literulas."

Further, the Dutch scholar wrote two prayers for use in the school, of which one, beginning "Audi preces meas," is for "docility, aptness and application to learning;" while the other invokes a blessing upon the parents of the boys.

Colet provided in his statutes—"All these Chyldren shall euery Chyldermasse day come to paulis church and here the Chylde Bishoppis sermon, and after be at the hye

Acts of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company throughout the year 1510 contain marginalia referring to entries, "For the Schole of Poule's," or "For the Schole House at Poule's," or "Master Doctor Colet of Poule's for the Schole;" and the cessation of these entries in the autumn of that year makes it very improbable that more than twelve months were allowed to elapse before the school was actually in working order. The latter assumption has been made both by Mr. Gardiner and Dr. Lupton on the evidence of a list of high masters and "submasters" extending to the year 1637, which is found appended to one of the copies of Colet's statutes preserved at Mercers' Hall, the first entry on which is as follows : "1512, Will Lilie, high Mr., placed by ye Founder. Thomas Persy, submaster ;" but as there is no reason to suppose that the MS. is contemporary with the foundation, its evidence as to exact dates is of very little value, while the fact that on August 10, 1509, Colet dedicated his *Aeditio* to Lily, of whom he wrote, "Qui primus es huius novae Pauli scholae praceptor," proves conclusively that the school was in full working order before that date.

The earliest and most valuable account of the school which is extant is contained in the letter written from Anderlecht by Erasmus to his friend Justus Jonas, shortly after Colet's death in 1519. The following extract is a translation—

"Upon the death of the father of Colet, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a considerable sum of money, lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind and turn it too much to the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the church-yard of St. Paul dedicated to the Child Jesus, a magnificent fabric; to which he added two handsome dwelling-houses for the two several masters, to whom he assigned

ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys gratuitously. He divided the school into four apartments. The first is the porch or entrance for catechumens (or children to be instructed in the principles of religion); and no child is admitted there, unless he can already read and write. The second apartment is for the Hypodidascalus (or usher). The third is for those who are more learned (under the high master). Which former parts of the school are divided from the other by a curtain, which can be drawn or undrawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is seated a figure of the Child Jesus, of excellent work, in the act of teaching; whom all the assembly both at coming in and going out of school salute with a short hymn. There is also a representation of God the Father, saying, 'Hear ye him': but these words were written there at my recommendation. The last apartment is a little chapel adapted to divine service. Throughout the school there are neither corners nor hiding-places; nor anything like a cell or a closet. The boys have each their distinct forms or benches rising in regular gradations and spaces one over another. Of these every class contains sixteen, and he who is most excellent in his class has a kind of small desk by way of eminence. All children are not to be admitted as a matter of course, but are to be selected according to their parts and capacities."¹

In connection with this last proviso we have seen that the founder required that before admission a boy should have a knowledge of the Catechism, and of reading and writing. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century boys were taught to read at Eton, where no such qualification was required, in the lowest division, which was called the Bible Seat.

On entering St. Paul's boys were taught the Catechism

¹ S. Knight, *Colet*, 1823.

its rooms are set out in detail. These sources of information are : Colet's statutes of 1518 ; the statement which is extant as to the accommodation which William Lily, the first high master, could give to the suite of the Emperor Charles V ; a list of rooms, an inventory of " implements " for which is given in the accounts for 1592 ; the fragment of an indenture made between Richard Mulcaster (who became high master in 1596) and the Mercers ; and, finally, a glazier's bill of 1584.

From these we can gather that the high master's house had cellars and a coal-house, and on the ground floor a hall adjoining the vestibulum or entrance to the school, a kitchen, and a buttery. On the first floor was the high master's dining-room, two other rooms of which he had the use, and another buttery. As to the second floor, Colet expressly enjoined on the high master that " touching all the story of chaumbers next underneath the galaris he shall nothyng meddle withall."

On the floor above this Colet gave the high master the use of "the little middle chaumber and the galery in the soughsidē." In Mulcaster's time the high master had also the right to use the northernmost garret, and this probably gave him the use of the whole of the attics. It will be asked what was the purpose for which the second floor was used. It is possible that in Colet's time some of the rooms were used as muniment rooms, but by 1584 one of them at least was used for the accommodation of boarders, since the glazier's bill for that year refers to the "borders' chamber." It is possible that it was a large room occupying nearly the whole of the second floor, but the same document, curiously enough, affords a clue to the purpose for which another room on this floor was used, for in it the glazier refers to the " posing chamber."

This fact explains what has hitherto been a puzzling

point in an entry in Pepys' *Diary*, where he writes¹: "Back again to Paul's School, and went up to see the head form posed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but I think they did not answer so well as we did, only in Geography they did pretty well. Dr. Wilkins and Outram were examiners. So down to the School."

It is quite evident from this that a special room in the high master's house was, even down to the time of the Great Fire, set apart for the annual apposition or examination of the boys.

The provisions under the title *De Submagistro*, in the statutes, declare that on the election of the surmaster the Mercers shall "assigne hym his lodging in the old chaunge," and further provide that "he shall goe to comyns with the hye mayster yf he may conveniently." Erasmus says, "Adjecti aedes magnificas in quibus agerent duo ludimagiſtri," and Grafton, writing forty years after the foundation of the school, says, "He builded also two faire tenements joining to the said schoole for the said Master and Usher to inhabite in."

There can be little doubt that the surmaster's house was the last part of the school which was built. From the archives of the City of London² it appears that in 1511 Colet was in negotiation with the Court of Aldermen for the purchase "of certen grounde of the citie for an entre to be hadde into his new gramer scole," and in January 1512 he got the assent of the Court of Aldermen and of the Common Council to the purchase by him of "a certen grounde in the Olde Chaunge for the inlargyng of his gramer scole in Powlys Churche-yerd" for the sum of £30. The conveyance took place in the following September, and the deed was sealed with the common seal on October 7. The

¹ February 4, 1662.

² R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 351.

glazier's bill of 1584 gives us some notion of the size of the surmaster's house. It shows that it consisted of a hall, a kitchen, and a study next the school building, all of which were probably on the ground floor. On the first floor there appears to have been "the second master's chaumber, the study chaumber, and the little chaumber." The conveyance of which we have just spoken suggests that there was an entrance to the school from Old Change. The glazier's bill bears this out, for it speaks of a "lodge," which was certainly not on the front or west side of the school. We know that in 1578 there was employed "a pore man, the Porter of the Schole," who lived in a little house adjoining the east end of the cathedral. By 1588 his tenement had been turned into the under usher's house; we may therefore presume that the lodge spoken of in the glazier's bill drawn up four years earlier, was at that time the porter's residence, and it may have been one of the houses in Old Change adjoining that of the surmaster, of which Colet had obtained possession for the school. There seems good reason to suppose that in the original buildings the passage from the high master's house into the school led through the surmaster's house, for in 1576 it appears that a door "which bred much contention between Malym and Holden," who were respectively high master and surmaster, was altered, and "the coming out of Malim's house into the school was turned another way into the vestibule." As to the chaplain's residence, the statutes provide that "His chaumber and lodging shalbe in the newe howsse in the olde chayn or in the maistres loginge as shalbe thought best." To this the copy of the statutes in the British Museum¹ adds the words "free without any payment." The "newe howsse" is obviously one of those referred to in Colet's will of 1514 as "those my two tenements or

¹ Add. MSS. 6274.

messuages newly built . . . now in the tenure of John Evers, citizen and haberdasher of London, situate in the Old Change, London."

On the first appointment of a chaplain he received for the rent of his chamber ten shillings per annum, which was subsequently increased to thirteen and fourpence. It remained fixed at this rate until the year 1588, in which the porter's lodging over against the cathedral was enlarged and turned into a residence for the chaplain, or, as he was now called, the under usher.

Of the external appearance of Colet's school-building we have very little information. No satisfactory view is known to be extant. From the statement of John Strype, who was educated in the school before the Great Fire, and who lived to see the building of 1670, it appears that the second building was very similar in appearance to the first.

The small bird's-eye view of the original building which is to be seen in the plan of London, Westminster and Southwark, engraved by Ralph Agas in 1591, bears out Strype's statement, in that the school appears to have had a central building of one storey, while at each end houses of several storeys were adjoining.

That the building erected by Dean Colet was unusually handsome is beyond question. George Lily speaks of "scholam publicam, eleganti structura." Both Alexander Nevyl and Polydore Vergil describe it as "magnificam scholam;" another writer¹ refers to it as "scholam illam egregiam quae Paulina dicitur," which may or may not refer to the building, but Stow speaks of it as having been "built in a most ample manner."

In his letter to Justus Jonas, Erasmus speaks of St. Paul's as "ludum literarium longe pulcherrimum, ac magnificientissimum," and in the dedication to *De Copia* he speaks

¹ *Antiq. Brit.*, sub. Will. Warham, ed. Hanover, p. 306.

in praise of Colet's "sumptus tam ingentes." According to Anthony à Wood the building cost 4,500 marks, that is to say, £3,000, or in modern reckoning at least £36,000, while the rental of the lands which formed the endowment was more than £120 a year, or in modern reckoning about £1,465.

It is not surprising, in view of such generosity, that Colet, shortly before his death, wrote to Erasmus, saying that he had scarcely sufficient income left upon which to live.



William Lily
First Master of Saint Paul's school.

[E. Edwards sc.

WILLIAM LILY, FIRST HIGH MASTER

[To face p. 68.



CHAPTER V

THE FIRST HIGH MASTER, WILLIAM LILY, 1509-1522

WILLIAM LILY, the first high master of St. Paul's, appointed to the post, as was natural, by Colet himself, was born at Odyham, a little country town in Hampshire, situate between Farnborough and Basingstoke. It is possible that he was educated at Winchester, but of this there is no proof. In 1486 he was a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford—a fact which fixes the date of his birth somewhere between 1466 and 1470. The fact that he was a godson of Grocyn, at that time divinity reader at Magdalen, provides a reason for his entry at that college. Colet himself is said to have been at Magdalen, and it therefore appears more than probable that both he and Lily were contemporaries at the college, Colet being slightly the senior of the two.

After graduating at Oxford, Lily, like the rest of his contemporaries who took their share in effecting the revival of learning in England, set out for the Continent. He suffered privations while studying at Venice. He is known to have visited Jerusalem. On his way back he stayed for some time at Rhodes, where he learnt Greek from the refugees in that island. From there he returned as far as Rome, where he continued his Greek studies, his masters—the Lilies of Lily—as Fuller quaintly describes them, being the two celebrated scholars, Sulpicius, and Pomponius Sabinus, the founder of the Accademia Romana.

course of the passage of his procession through St. Paul's Churchyard.

The occasion of this address was the visit of the Emperor Charles V. The speech which was made to the sovereign has been lost, but the copy of congratulatory verses has been preserved, and is to be seen among the Harleian MSS.¹ It is said by George Lily to have been "a puer in foro pronuntiata."

The visit of the Emperor is of further interest to us from the fact that there is extant² among the lists, showing the available accommodation in the city for the imperial suite, one which gives the number of rooms in the high master's house which could be put at their disposal. The entry runs "Maister Llyly, scole maister. i. hall, iiij chambers, iiij feather beddes, i. kitchen and other necessaries."

The first of Lily's pupils to achieve distinction was John Clement, whose education at the school is a token of the close friendship which subsisted between Sir Thomas More and the first high master. It was of him that the future Lord Chancellor, in the epistle to Peter Giles prefixed to the *Utopia*, wrote, "John Clement my boye, whome I suffer to be awaye from no talke wherein ther may be any profyte or goodnes, for out of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring up both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne." In the following September More wrote to Erasmus, "Colet is working hard at Greek with some help from my Clement."

Three years later "Clemens meus," as More affectionately called him, was chosen to read Wolsey's Rhetoric Lectures at Oxford, and "being singularly seen in the Greek tongue," was also engaged to deliver the Greek

¹ Harl. MSS. 540; Strype's *Hist. Colls.* 57; Pauline, vol. xiii. p. 520.

² Camden. Soc. *Rutland Papers*, 1842-3, p. 87.

lectures in the same university. He acted as tutor to Margaret, More's daughter, who, as Margaret Roper, wrote the well-known beautiful account of her father's life and death, and he cemented his connection with the great Chancellor's family by his marriage with More's adopted daughter, Margaret Giggs, on the occasion of which his school-fellow Leland wrote an epithalamium. To his classical scholarship Clement added distinction in the medical profession, and following in the footsteps of his friend Linacre, became President of the College of Physicians. Clement, as was to be expected from an adopted son of Thomas More, strongly opposed the Reformation. He left England during the reign of Edward VI, and although he returned on the accession of Queen Mary, on her death he once again retired abroad, and died at Mechlin, in Brabant, in 1572.

From the point of view of pure scholarship, the second of the pupils of William Lily to achieve distinction was Thomas Lupset, the son of a goldsmith in London, who was born about 1495, and must accordingly have been one of the first to enter the school under Lily. He is said to have acted as amanuensis to Colet, who referred to him as "My scholar" in his will, by which he bequeathed to him his books; and the share of the Dean in his education is borne out by a reference to him in the Lansdowne MSS.¹ as "sub Coletō ac Lilio in literis probe educatus et Graeco et Latino peritus." He was supported at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, by Colet, and after leaving the University accompanied Richard Pace on his embassy to Venice in 1515. After graduating at Paris, he returned to England in 1519, and went into residence at Corpus, Oxford, where he occupied the Chair of Rhetoric and Humanity founded by Wolsey, and three years later succeeded John Clement as Greek Reader. The tenure of the readership in Greek by

¹ 979, p. 85.

two Paulines in succession affords strong evidence that at St. Paul's alone among the three existing public schools was Greek to any serious degree a subject of education.

In 1523 Lupset visited Padua in company with Reginald Pole, whose friendship he had made in Italy eight years before, and in the same year he received a benefice in Essex. This was followed by several other preferments which culminated in a prebendal stall at Salisbury. He died of consumption in 1530, at the early age of thirty-six, and, if one may judge by the opinion held of him by his contemporaries, the reputation which he achieved even in his short life was one of the highest among those of the leaders of the new learning.

It was of him that Erasmus wrote, "hujus ingenio nihil gratius nihil amantius." Harpsfield, the ecclesiastical historian who became Regius Professor of Greek in the middle of the sixteenth century, describes how, while still a boy at Winchester, he attended the funeral of Foxe, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at which were present among others, Reginald Pole, Richard Pace, and "Thomas Lupsetus egregie eruditus," while a further indication of the esteem in which he was held as a humanist by his contemporaries is to be found in the colophon of a posthumously published translation of a sermon of St. John Chrysostom, a black letter of 1542, the first of his works to be issued in this country, which is expressed as having been "translated into Englysshe by the floure of lerned menne in his tyme, Thomas Lupsette, Londoner." In addition to other religious works which he published, he rendered much assistance to his learned friends in their labours, and supervised the issue of Linacre's editions of Galen's medical treatises, and prepared and corrected for the press the second edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*.¹

No less than three of the leading statesmen of the Tudor

¹ Wood, *Ath.*, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 838.



Hilton del.

[Meyer sc.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH

[Tate/acc p. 78]



sovereigns were educated at St. Paul's under Lily. Edward North, the first of these, who was born in 1496, was the son of a citizen and mercer of London. From St. Paul's he went to Peterhouse, and having been called to the Bar, became counsel for the city of London. In 1531 he became Clerk of Parliament, and in 1536 one of the King's Serjeants. In 1541 he was knighted and sat in Parliament for Cambridgeshire. Three years later he was a Commissioner of the Great Seal. In 1546 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and was named one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII, under which he received a bequest. Although he was one of the supporters of "Queen Jane," he was pardoned by Queen Mary, and in 1554 was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord North of Kirtling. He placated Elizabeth on her accession by sumptuous entertainments at his mansion in the Charterhouse, where he died in 1564, leaving benefactions to the University of Cambridge and to Peterhouse.

Anthony Denny, who was five years younger than North, was the second son of Sir Edmund Denny, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He left school to go to St. John's College, Cambridge. Henry VIII, having heard of his merits, summoned him to Court and made him King's Remembrancer and Groom of the Stole. He was knighted in 1544, and, like his school-fellow, Edward North, he was sworn of the Privy Council, received grants of the estates of the dissolved monasteries, and was one of the executors of the King's will, by which he was appointed counsellor to Edward VI and left a substantial legacy. He was a zealous promoter of the Reformation and a generous benefactor to Sedbergh School. Sir Anthony Denny sat for Hertfordshire in Edward VI's first Parliament, and on his death in 1549 the Earl of Surrey wrote an elegy in his memory.

The third statesman educated by Lily was William

Paget, who for more than twenty years held a foremost place in English history. He was son of a Serjeant-at-mace in London. He was supported at Trinity Hall by members of the Boleyn family, and entered the household of Stephen Gardiner. In 1529 he was sent abroad to collect opinions from the universities on the subject of the King's divorce, and after serving on various other missions on the Continent was appointed secretary to Anne of Cleves. In 1541 he was sworn of the Privy Council and became Secretary of State, acting as one of the chief advisers of the King during the closing years of his reign. He was consulted about Henry VIII's will, and, like North and Denny, received a legacy from the sovereign, and was appointed one of the governors of the young prince during his minority. Protector Somerset made him Knight of the Garter and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1547, and two years later he was created Lord Paget of Beautesart, and President of Wales. In 1551 his enemies succeeded in depriving him of his offices, and although he was on the Privy Council of "Queen Jane," he veered round and was one of the first to welcome Mary, by whom he was restored to his official positions. Philip, with whom Paget was a great favourite, urged Mary to make him Lord Chancellor in place of Stephen Gardiner, but the Queen refused on the ground that he was a layman, and appointed him Lord Privy Seal, a post which he resigned in favour of Sir Nicholas Bacon on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Lord Paget was twice High Steward of the University of Cambridge. His monument was erected in Lichfield Cathedral.

John Leland, the last of the learned men educated by Lily, was born in London about 1506. In an encomium inscribed "ad Thomam Milonem" he acknowledged the generosity of a patron, one Thomas Myles, who paid all



[G. Grignion sc.

JOHN LELAND, KING'S ANTIQUARY

From a bust in the Hall at All Soul's

[To face p. 50.

the expenses of his education. From St. Paul's he went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1522. He then migrated to All Souls', and went with an exhibition from Henry VIII to study at the University of Paris. In 1533 he was made King's Antiquary, and, as became a personal adherent of Henry VIII, he championed the new religious establishment. He became a Canon of King's College, Oxford, as Christ Church was then called, and by his *Itinerary* earned for himself the title of the Father of English Antiquaries.

By no means the least interesting name among those of Lily's pupils is that which has been last identified, of John Aynsworth, who was found guilty of high treason and executed at York in April 1538. The State papers of the preceding month in that year contain¹ "the confession of John Aynsworth, priest, of the age of forty years, bachelor of arts of St. John's College, Cambridge, born at Asheton in Lancashire." The record continues : "When a young man he went to London, and Elis Hylton, late keeper of Baynards Castle about twenty years ago, got him an exhibition from the Princess Dowager for six or seven years at Mr. Lilie's scole. For six or seven years at St. John's College." A consideration of dates shows that an error has crept into the account. If Aynsworth was forty in 1538 it is impossible that he should have entered Lily's school "for six or seven years" twenty years before, when his age was about twenty. If, however, we read "thirty years before" he must have entered at the quite usual age of ten, and this suggestion is borne out by the fact that Katharine of Aragon ceased to be Princess Dowager and became Queen in June 1509, so that Aynsworth must have been one of the very first pupils of Lily at St. Paul's.

Of the nature of the form of presentation of the boy to

¹ Brewer, vol. xiii., pt. i., 533.

"an exhibition" we know nothing, but the occasion of his condemnation and death was in part due to his gallant and conscientious insistence upon the wrong done to his first patroness by Henry's divorce. In a sermon at Eversham in Cambridgeshire soon after the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn he denounced the principle of Royal Supremacy, and being refused permission to preach the sermon a second time at York, he nailed the manuscript to the church door. Being arraigned before the Council of the North, he stoutly maintained the legitimacy of the Lady Mary, and the illegality of the marriage with Anne Boleyn; for these allegations, and a further charge of "manifest and frantic ribaldry," he was condemned to death and hanged.

Very different from Aynesworth's career was that of Thomas Offley, the son of the sheriff of Chester. Of him it is stated in a MS. life¹ that at the age of twelve "he became a good grammarian under Mr. Lilye, the newly elected school-master of Jesus School in Paul's Churchyard." Reference has already been made to the important statement as to his learning to sing among the choristers of St. Paul's. He was a merchant of the staple, and became Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company. He was Sheriff of London in 1553, and Lord Mayor three years later, being knighted by the Queen at Greenwich in 1557. He died in 1582. Of him Fuller says "he was the Zacchaeus of London, not for his lowly stature, but for his high charity in giving half of all his goods to the poor," and quotes a couplet which illustrates his reputation for frugal living—

"Offley three dishes had of daily roast—
An egg, an apple, and (the third) a toast."

On the monument of Robert Pursglove, Bishop of Hull, in Tideswell Church, Derbyshire, occur the following three lines—

¹ Jos. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, vol. v. 542.



Engraved in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1794.

ROBERT FURSGLOVE, BISHOP OF HULL

From a brass in Tideswell Church

[To face p. 82.]



"Till afterwards by uncle dear to London he was had
Who William Bradshaw hight by name in Paul's wch. did him place
And yr at Schole did him maintain full thrice three whole years
space."

After leaving St. Paul's, Pursglove went for a short time to the neighbouring priory of St. Mary Overy, and then proceeded to Corpus, Oxford, from which college, after fourteen years, he passed to the great Augustinian priory of Guisborough in Yorkshire, of which he rapidly became the twenty-fourth and last prior. In 1538 he was chosen by the King on the nomination of Archbishop Lee of York, to be the first suffragan bishop of Hull, under the Act of three years earlier, and in 1540 he surrendered the priory of Guisborough to the King. In 1559 he was deprived of his bishopric, and also of the archdeaconry of Norwich which he held with it, for his refusal to take the Elizabethan Oath of Supremacy, and the Commissioners of the Privy Council represented him as "stiff in papistry and of estimation in the county." In the year of his deprivation he obtained letters patent from the Queen to found a Jesus Grammar School at Tideswell. Some of the provisions in the statutes of this school were, like its name, taken from the school at which Offley was educated.

In 1563 he founded a similar school of the same name and also an almshouse at Guisborough. He placed both institutions under the visitatorial power of the Archbishop of York, which seems to suggest that he finally acquiesced in the Elizabethan settlement of religion. He died in 1579, and a fine brass, from which the lines quoted above are copied, marks his resting-place.

Something must now be said concerning two men who were undoubtedly pupils of Lily, but as to whom it is suggested that they were under him before his appointment to St. Paul's. Thomas Nightingale became a B.C.L. of

Oxford in 1515, so that it is most probable that he was a pupil in Colet's school, a suggestion of which some corroboration is afforded by the fact that, in addition to being the author of *In mortem Gul. Lilii elegiae*, he also wrote *De obitu Joannis Coleti Carmen*. Nothing more is known of him save that Balaeus describes him as "Vir lepidus et poeta."

John Constable, on the other hand, graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1511. It is, therefore, most improbable that he was under Lily at St. Paul's. According to Anthony à Wood, he left Byham Hostel at Oxford with the reputation of a great rhetorician and poet. The book of epigrams on which his reputation rests,¹ contains lines addressed to King Henry, Katharine of Aragon, and Sir Thomas More, while two copies of verses are addressed to William Lily. To the first of these reference has already been made, while the second begins with the lines—

“Praeceptor facunde tuas quis dicere laudes
Quas meritus multis es quaerat ecce modis.”

It is hard to believe that George Lily, the son of the first high master, received his education elsewhere than at St. Paul's, although it must be admitted that no statement of the school at which he was taught is known to be extant. He was a commoner at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1528, and, having travelled to Rome, became private chaplain to Cardinal Pole, by whom he was made Canon of Canterbury. He was the author of the well-known *Virorum aliquot in Britannia . . . Elogia*, and is said to have written the life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Colet's will contains a touching bequest, "I will that Maister Dancaster have in money to support hym in hys vertue six pounds xiiij s. iiij d." From the fact that Erasmus

¹ Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, i. 27; *Fasti*, i. 32, 43.

wrote to Dancaster after the Dean's death, condoling with him on the loss of "such a teacher, such a patron, such a friend," one may safely assume that he was educated at St. Paul's.

It is probable also that Jerome Dudley, the son of Edmund Dudley, who, with Richard Empson, was attainted for constructive treason by Henry VIII, was educated under Lily at St. Paul's, since it is known that Colet was one of the guardians of Dudley's child.

It has been suggested that Sir Nicholas Bacon, the father of Francis Bacon, was educated at St. Paul's, but it must be admitted that the evidence for the statement is not strong. It is to be found in the description of the mansion built at Gorhambury by Sir Nicholas, attached to which was "a little banqueting house, most curiously adorned, round about which the liberall Artes are deciphered, with the pictures of some of those men which have been excellent in every particular Art."¹

The typical portraits under the head of Grammar—the first in the series are those of Donatus, Lily, Servius, and Priscian.

If the position of a school is to be determined by the distinction achieved by its alumni, then Colet was very early justified in his foundation, and the greatness of Lily as first high master more than bore out the discrimination of the founder in choosing him to fill that post.

It may be safely said not merely that no school-master before his day in England, but that not even any other for many years after his death, can claim the credit of having educated so many men of distinction.

Of the rank of Lily's pupils it is hard to speak with any certainty from the data which we possess. We have already seen that there is no justification whatever for Stow's

¹ Weever, *Funeral Monumts.*, 1631, p. 583.

"potest legi" was proverbial, show that the founder contemplated the highest possible education for those classes especially which would supply the learned professions, and fill the most important offices in the State; in a word, for the well-to-do gentry, on whom the Tudors relied as a counterpoise to the old nobility.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM LILY'S SUCCESSORS : JOHN RITWISE, RICHARD JONES,
AND THOMAS FREEMAN, HIGH MASTERS 1522-1559

JOHN RITWISE, 1522-1532

JOHN RITWISE, the second high master, was elected pursuant to the founder's statute, which runs, "Yff the vnder Maister be in litterature and in honest lyff accordyng thanne the highe Maister's Rome vacant let hym be chosyn before a nother."

He was born in Norfolk and was educated at Eton. From this school he proceeded in 1508 to King's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1513. He was recommended to Colet by Erasmus, and was appointed surmaster in succession to Birchinchaw in 1517. He married Dionysia, the daughter of William Lily, and on the latter's death, in 1522, as we have seen, succeeded to his post.

In the year of his appointment to the surmastership, being anxious to obtain some further preferment, Ritwise solicited the influence of Colet, with the result that the latter gave him a letter of introduction to Wolsey, which is the last letter of the Dean's which is extant,¹ in which the founder describes Ritwise as "a man of good learning, and unquestionably high character . . . well worthy of even an important benefice in the Church," but in spite of this

¹ Brewer, *Let. and Papers of Henry VIII*, 1517, 18 Dec., vol. ii., pt. ii., 3834.

testimonial he failed to achieve the promotion which he desired, and it may be that his succession to the high mastership on the death of his father-in-law satisfied his ambition.

After ten years in that position, however, he was removed from his office in the last months of 1532, "for neglect of his duties," as the Mercers' records express it. It may be that this was a mere euphemism for incompatibility with the theological views of the Mercers, or perhaps the explanation is to be found in failing health, since it is certain that he died in the year following his dismissal.

The name of Rightwise or Righteous, which was latinized by his contemporaries into Justus, and the tribute to his character, as "doctrinae et morum Magister," which Polydore Vergil tersely paid in his account of St. Paul's, have been incorporated to form the motto of the second high master, which has been placed under the window in the western corridor of the new school in these words, "Qui est Justus et morum Magister," while John Leland, who was a pupil of Ritwise's during his surmasteryship, has left an epigram,¹ "Ad Justum Paulinae Scholae Moderatorem," which begins—

" Qui linguis teneras nova refingis
 Quadam dexteritate, nec ruinam
 Musarum pateris nitentium ullam
 Tu nunc, Juste, meum manu benigna
 Carmen suscipe."

From a letter from John Palsgrave to Sir Thomas More, which was written in July 1529, some evidence of the reputation which Rightwise enjoyed as a scholar and an educational authority at the Court of Henry VIII may be deduced, for it appears² that the King, being anxious to

¹ *Poemata varia*, p. 18; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 317.

² Brewer, *Lett. and Pap.*, 1529-30, vol. iv., pt. iii., 5806; Nichols, *Memoir of the Duke of Richmond*, pp. 23-4.

constrained to release him, and two years later the accession of Elizabeth brought him once more in favour, and he was given the post of Constable of the Tower, which he held until his death in 1575. He was buried in Waterford Cathedral with great pomp, and a monument was erected to his memory in Exeter Cathedral.

Although we know that William Lily took care that Paulines under his charge should learn how to sing, we have no evidence that the first high master encouraged acting, the accepted method of training boys in speaking Latin, and in grace of gesture, wherever the humanists controlled education.

So far as we know, Ritwise established the dramatic tradition which persisted at St. Paul's for so long, although at last the masters of St. Paul's, unlike those of Westminster, allowed it to perish.

Ritwise himself was the author of a tragedy called *Dido*, which he acted with his scholars before Cardinal Wolsey, and in November 1527 the boys of St. Paul's acted an Anti-Lutheran masque at Greenwich before the King and the French Ambassador. A complete record of the characters of this masque, and of the payments to Ritwise in connection with it, has been preserved. It runs, "The Kyngis plesyer was that at the sayd revells by clarks in the Latyn tonge shold be playd in hys hy presence a play whereof insuyte the namys—¹

"First an oratur in aperell of gold ; a poyed (poet) in aperell of cloth of gold. Relygeun, Ecclesia, Veritas like iij novessis in garments of sylke and vayells of lawne and sypres (cypress) ; Errysy, Fallse Interpretacion, Corruptio Scriptoris lyke laydys of Beeme (Bohemia) impereld in garments of sylke of dyvers collors. The herrytyke Lewtar (Luther) lyke a party frer (friar) in rosset damaske and

¹ Brewer, vol. iv., pt. ii., 3564 ; Record Off. Revels, Nov. 10, 1527.

black taffeta. Lewtar's wife like a frowe of Spyers in Almayn in red sylke. Petar, Poull, and Jamys in iij abetts (habits) of whyghte sarsenet and iij mantylls and heris of sylvar of damaske and pellerins of skarlet ; and a cardenell in hys aparell : ij sargents in ryche aparell. The Dolphyn and hys brother in cottes of velvet imbraudid with gold, and capes of satyn bowned withe velvett ; a messynger in tynsell satyn ; vj men in gownys of gren sarsenet ; vj wemen in gownys of cremsyn sarsenet war in ryche cloth of gold and fethers and armyd ; iij Almayns in aparell all cut and selyt (slit) of sylke. Lady Pees (Peace), in ladys aparell all whyghte and riche ; and lady Quyetnes and dame Tranquulyte rychely beseyn (beseen) in ladis aparell."

The invoice of the cloth of gold, sarsanet, buckram, velvet and lawn, and for "the childrens hose and doublets," follows, and the MS. concludes as follows : "For making the apparell 54s. 8d. 3q. coals at 6d. beer ale bread for 38 children, the Master Usher and the masters that ate and drank. 3s. 2d. Mr. Ryghtwos Master of Paul's School, asks to be allowed for doublets, hose, and shoes for the children who were poor mens' sons, and for fire in times of learning the play 45s. 6d."

The document concludes¹ thus, "Item, payd by me Rycharde Gybson for vi boots to karry the Master of Powlls Skooll and the chyldyrn as well hoom as to the koort, to every boot 12d. so payd for frayght for the chyldyrn 6s."

There is also evidence to show that the pupils of Ritwise at St. Paul's acted before the Court a play on the Pope's captivity. In 1528 they acted *Phormio* before Cardinal Wolsey, having presented before him the *Menaechmi* a few years earlier.

There is extant in the archives of Venice² a letter

¹ Notes and Queries, Ser. 2, vol. ii. pp. 24, 78.

² Brown, Cal. of State Papers, Venetian, 1527-33, vol. iv. p. 115.

written by Gaspare Spinelli, the Secretary to the Venetian ambassador in London on January 8, 1528. The writer tells of the banquet given by Cardinal Wolsey to celebrate the release from captivity of Pope Clement VII. "The dinner was most sumptuous, and afterwards the scholars of Paul's, all children, recited the *Phormio* of Terence with so much *galantaria e bona attoine* that he (Spinelli) was astounded." The play was followed by recitations by three girls dressed to represent Religion, Peace, and Justice. After this a little boy, who had already recited with great applause the prologue of the comedy, delivered a Latin oration celebrating the day as one of great thanksgiving on account of the release of the Pope. . . . The grace with which *questo figliolino* delivered the oration could not be imagined."

This tribute by a distinguished and cultured foreigner to the ability displayed by the boys of St. Paul's School is the more valuable from the fact that Spinelli was one of the most accomplished secretaries in the service of the republic of Venice.

It is said that in 1521 Ritwise published at Cologne a book in 4to bearing on its title-page "Gulielmi Lili, Grammatici et Poetae, eximii, Paulinae Scholae olim Moderatoris, de Generibus Nominum, ac Verborum Praeteritis et Supinis, Regulae pueris apprime utilis. Opus recognitum et adactum, cum Nominum ac Verborum Interpretamentis : per Joannem Rituissi Scholae Paulinae Praeceptoris. Col. 1521."¹ No trace of this book is to be found, but the section "De Nominum ac Verborum Interpretamentis" was incorporated in the editions of Lily's Grammar published in Antwerp in 1533, and in London in 1539. It consisted of the well-known rule for the gender of nouns, called from its first words, "Propria quae maribus," and of rules for the inflexions of verbs called "As in praesenti."

¹ Wilkinson, *Lond. Ill.*, p. 9.

In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*,¹ first published in 1620 and written by Thomas Middleton, Shakespeare's collaborator in *Macbeth*, one of the characters, named Maudlin, remarks of another, "He was eight years in his grammar, and stuck horribly at a foolish place there called 'as in praesenti,'" and the same character in an earlier scene definitely refers to St. Paul's School in these words, "You'll ne'er live till I make your tutor whip you. You know how I served you once at the free-school in Paul's Churchyard."

A record of a benefactor to the school during the high mastership of Ritwise is to be found in the fact that Richard Wolman, a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, who was afterwards Dean of Wells and who left a bequest to the "children of the gramer scole at Eton," gave in June 1528 to "the children in the gramer scole of Paul's at London 40s. to say *Dirige* or *De Profundis* in the church of Paul's" and also gave the master 6s. 8d. and the usher 3s. 4d. to be there "for better order."

RICHARD JONES, 1532-1549

Of Ritwise's successor, Richard Jones, who was high master for seventeen years, we know little. He appears to have been at the University of Louvain as well as at Oxford, where he was a B. Can. Law in 1506-7, and it is for this reason that the Lion Rampant Azure of the former University appears as representing his high mastership in the window in the school. We may presume that he fulfilled the qualifications set out by Erasmus, who declared that no one could graduate at Louvain without knowledge, manners and age.

That he was a *persona grata* with those most intimately concerned in the revival of learning in England is seen from

¹ Act IV. sc. i.

the fact that he received from his friend Linacre, who acted as executor to Grocyn, a legacy of money for the purchase of books. Of his character, the only contemporary record that has come down to us is contained in the brief reference of Polydore Vergil,¹ "Rightuso mortuo, Ricardus Jonys, homo doctus atque modestus successerit."

Like his predecessor, Jones served the school as surmaster before becoming high master, his appointment to the lesser post having been made in 1522, the year of Lily's death, and of Ritwise's appointment. One other link with the early days of the school persisted in the fact that the man appointed to succeed Jones as surmaster, James Jacob, who had taken his degree at Oxford in 1527-8, married Dionysia Ritwise, the daughter of the first, and the widow of the second, high master. James and Dionysia Jacob had a son named Polydore, who was no doubt a godson of Polydore Vergil.

Of the date of the death of this lady, whose life was so intimately connected with the history of the school, we have no record, but her second husband survived until the year 1560, when, according to the diary of Henry Machyn,² the "Husser of Powles Skolle" was buried at St. Augustines Old Change, the church situated directly behind the school, "at his berehyng were a xx clarkes syngyng ym to the chyrche and was a sermon."

One interesting sidelight, the only one into the private life of Jones which we possess, is to be found in the Record Office.³ A certain W. Welden wrote to the high master a letter from the college at Cambray, in 1538, in which he says that "Mr. Peplewell lying sick in bed sent him Jones' letters of the 2nd June." The writer goes on to say how

¹ Pol. Verg., *Urb. Angl. Hist.*, 1534, p. 618.

² Camden Soc., 1848, p. 247.

³ Brewer, vol. xiii., pt. i., p. 441 (1192).

he went to see Peplewell, but was strangely received by his servant in the shop, who said he was in his chamber with the physician, and the writer then goes on to say that he "has sought this morning for his (Jones') wife but finds very few 'tablettes rounde,' the fashion being exolete. The biggest exceed not the compass of a rial, without, full of emale of divers colours most commonly, and openeth with a vice that there may be put within it musce or sweet powders. Such may be had for 30s. with the fashion for which they ask a noble or a crown." He goes on to say that he has not yet found the stones which he wants, and comments on the fact that Jones "does not say in what stone he wants Pegasus graven, as he does Janus in a cornelian or other good stone." He does not expect to find them ready made. The writer then proceeds to say that he does not wish to take charge of children any more, for he is able to live, and does not wish to hinder his study, a remark which seems to suggest that Jones was in the habit of sending boys from St. Paul's to study in the college.

The letter concludes merely by a request that if Jones sends money, he should send single or double ducats or crowns, no other money being current but with loss.

It is unfortunate that no other letters passing between Jones and his foreign correspondents should appear to have been preserved, for in that case we might have discovered in them matters of more interest to the history of the school than references to the presents of jewellery made by the high master to his wife, or than to a mere passing reference to the practice of sending boys to study on the Continent.

Two glimpses of London life in the days of the Tudors are to be found in the Mercers' Minutes, where occurs the entry, "September 27th, 1543. The School ordered to

and mindful of the former usage did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with ‘*Salve! Salve tu quoque!* placet tibi mecum disputare? Placet,’ and so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fall from words to blows with their satchells full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers, so that finally they were restrained with the decay of St. Anthonies School.”

It may well be that the boys of St. Paul's and St. Anthony's were breaking each other's heads over points of grammar on that eve of St. Bartholomew on which the tolling of the bell of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, in Paris, rang in the most famous of all St. Bartholomew's days.

It is curious to find that as late as the end of the eighteenth century there was in use in London a proverbial expression, “An it please the pigs,” which was said to have originated as a scoffing reservation used by Paulines in reference to the boys of St. Anthony's School.¹

Colet's endowment of a chantry and a chaplain was affected during Jones's high mastership by enactments which were described by the late high master as “an infamous blot upon our statute book.”

The Act 37 Henry VIII, c. 4, “For the dissolution of colleges, chantries and free chapels,” had given all such endowments to the King and his successors, but they were not actually taken possession of until the Act 1 Edward VI, c. 1 was passed, which vested in the Crown as from 1548 all such colleges, chantries and free chapels.

The greater part of the rents vested in the City Companies for “superstitious uses” were purchased of the Crown by the Companies concerned, and conveyed to them about 1549, and it appears certain that the endowment

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1798, vol. lx. p. 1086.

for a chantry priest for St. Paul's School was among the number.

The only man of whom one can say with any certainty that he was a pupil of Richard Jones is William Harrison, the annalist, to whom reference has already been made. He became a canon of Windsor, and died in 1594.

It has been suggested that the two sons of Edward, Lord North, who, as we have seen, was a pupil of Lily, were also at St. Paul's. Their place of education is not known, but if they were Paulines, they must have been at the school under Richard Jones. The elder son, Roger, who is said to have completed his education at Peterhouse, was ambassador, general, and faithful servant to Queen Elizabeth to the day of his death in 1600. His brother, Sir Thomas North, from whose translation of *Plutarch* Shakespeare derived all his classical knowledge, has been spoken of as the first great master of English prose.

Polydore Vergil described in these terms the effect on education in England of St. Paul's under its first three high masters, "Ac ut Londinensis juventus e Paulina schola multo est politior, sic tota Anglia multi studiis et doctrinis dediti profecta literatura florent."

THOMAS FREEMAN, 1549-1559

On the death of Jones, the Mercers appointed as his successor a man who in 1542 had been appointed master of the Mercers' Chapel School, with which the school of St. Thomas of Acon had been incorporated twenty years before.

Of Freeman's education or early career we know nothing. Stow says that "he spent ten years in the laborious employment of the education of youth," a statement which adds nothing to our knowledge. Freeman's election to the high mastership may, so far as is known, be reckoned as the first in which there was a contest for the post of high master,

for it appears that four years before the death of Richard Jones he was promised the reversion of the post in preference to one Gryndal, who had made application for it under favour of the Queen's grace.

The Queen in question was Catherine Parr, and this fact makes it probable that the applicant was not, as has been suggested, Edmund Grindal, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, but William Grindal, a pupil at St. John's College, Cambridge, of William Ascham, who, with Ascham, became tutor to the Princess Elizabeth while she lived under the care of Catherine Parr.

Nothing whatever is known of Freeman's career at St. Paul's, save that in 1559 "he was warned to avoid the office for insufficiency of learning and lack of the Greek tongue."

On Freeman's election James Jacob, the surmaster, was propitiated with a present for being passed over in the election of a high master in spite of his seventeen years' service in the school.

The part which the boys of St. Paul's had played in the pageants in the city of London during the high mastership of Jones, was maintained during that of his successor. It is on record¹ that on September 30, 1553, at the coronation of Queen Mary, "At the Schole house in Palles Church, ther was certayn children and men sung dyverse staves in gratefying the Queene : ther she stayed a good while and gave dilligent ere to their song."

Strype² refers to processions through the city on January 25 and March 8, 1554, in which the boys of St. Paul's School took part, while on August 18, 1554, it appears³ that "a skoller of Paule's School decked up in cloth of gold delivered unto the King's highness a fayre book which he receyved verye gentle," an incident which,

¹ *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Soc., 1849-50, p. 30.

² *Historical Memorials*, vol. iii.

³ *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Soc., 1849-50, p. 150.

of course, refers to the marriage of the Queen with Philip of Spain.

With the accession of Mary and the restoration of the old religion we find records of purchases for the chapel which are of interest. Thus, in 1554, the new *régime* is marked by a payment of 3*s.* 4*d.* for "2 candlesticks for the chappell," while the following entries in the accounts occur later—

1554-5 Paid for two altar clothes two towells and corporous (*sic*) cloth and mass book 4*s.* 1*d.*

Vestment, rearedore, and foredoore and covering for the altar, 5*s.* 4*d.*

For waxe spent in the chapell of the Schole this yeare, 3*s.* 4*d.*

1555-6 For a narrow wighte clothe for an albe and linen; Two elles of Holland for an altar cloth 7*s.* 7*d.*

Waxe for the chapell 8*s.*

1556-7 For waxe 6*s.*

The picture of Jesus set up agayne.

Paid to Dyrrikc Cure, Carver, for new making the picture of Jesus in the schole 2*s.* Paid for payenting & gilding the same picture 2*s.*

On May 30, 1556, the Mercers borrowed a chalice from St. Paul's School in consequence of a robbery at St. Thomas of Acon's. Two very significant facts concerning the staff of the school deserve mention. After the disappearance of the name of Sir Thomas Monymay, the chaplain, in 1557, the last year of Mary's reign, no name of a successor is to be found in the Mercers' accounts for three years. Further, Thomas Freeman, the high master, was "removed for insufficiency of learning," after ten years as high master, in 1559, within twelve months after the accession of Elizabeth. These facts make it very safe to surmise that the religious upheaval of the time finds its reflection in the history of the school.

Wriothesley,¹ referring to the year 1555, relates that

¹ Wriothesley, Camden Soc., 1877, ii. 130.

" This yeare on St Barthlemew Eve, after the Lord Mayre and Aldermen had ridden aboue the fayre, they came to Christ Church by Newgate Markett, where the disputation of the children of Paule's Schoole, St Anthonies, and the children of the Hospitall was heard and three several games made for them."

We have already had occasion to refer to Holinshed's statement as to the disputation at St. Bartholomew's Fair in the same year. The words of the chronicler are as follows—

" On Bartholomew even, after the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew Faire, they came to Christes Hospital within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betweene the scholers of Paules Schoole, Saint Anthonies Schoole, and the scholars of the said hospital."

The account goes on to say that a scholar of St. Anthony's won the prize, which was a silver pen worth 5*s.*, and his master received a present of 6*s.* 8*d.*, the second best boy being a scholar of St. Paul's.

We have seen how during the high mastership of Richard Jones, according to three different chroniclers the "children of Paule's schole" took part in religious processions on at least four different occasions in the years 1536 to 1546. We have seen also how Ritwise is described in the Privy Purse Expenses, in 1532, as the "scole master of Paules," and in the accounts for the Anti-Lutheran play, in 1537, as "the master of Paul's school." In view of these facts it is surely a far-fetched assertion to suggest that the "scholers of Paules Schoole" spoken of by Holinshed, and "the children of Paule's Schoole" referred to by Wriothesley, belonged to any other school than Colet's, especially when it is seen that Stow implies the contrary, and also that Machyn describes processions which took place in the same year as that of which Holinshed and Wriothesley¹ speak, in which "all the

¹ Camden Soc., 1848, pp. 87, 92.

men-chylderyn of the hospetall and after the chylderne of sant Antonys, and then all the chyltheryn of Powlles and all ther masters and hushhers" took part.

If the statements which have been set out above are accepted, a reference to the pupils of Freeman is to be found in the description of Queen Mary's visit to the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield in 1554, which states that "after supper a play was presented by the children of Paul's." From this account the name of one of the boys has been discovered, for it goes on to state, "After the play and next morning one of the children named Max. Poines sung to the Princess while she played at the Virginals."¹

It is a strange fact that the only other name which has been traced as that of a possible pupil of Freeman is connected with the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth. Robert Laneham, the date of whose birth and death are unknown, was apprenticed to a Mercer, and acquired in travel great linguistic abilities, a fact which led to his entering the service of the Earl of Leicester, an account of whose entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, in 1575, he wrote in a letter to a friend, which has been preserved.² This letter closes with an interesting account of the author. "I went to scholl, forsooth," he says, "both at Pollez, and also at Saint Antoniez : In the fifth form, past Esop Fabl I wys, red Terens, Vos istaec intro auferte, and began with my Virgill, Tytire tu patulae. I coold my rulez, coold conster and pars with the best of them."

Sir Walter Scott introduced Laneham into *Kenilworth* as a character full of pert officiousness. Nothing more than what is stated in his letter is known concerning him, unless, indeed, he is to be identified with "Old Lanam" who lashed the Puritan pamphleteers in 1589, in *Rhythmes against Martin Marre Prelate*.

¹ Wharton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 218.

² Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 420.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELIZABETHAN CHANGES

JOHN COOK, HIGH MASTER 1559-1573

THE new high master appointed on Freeman's dismissal was John Cook, who appears to have been a native of Lincolnshire. He was born in 1516, and must therefore have been at Eton, where he was educated, in the head mastership of Richard Coxe, under whom that school is said to have first reached its high repute, and of whom Fuller wrote that the school "was happy with many flourishing wits under his endeavours." The fact that Coxe was a zealous Lutheran and Reformer, and after becoming tutor to Edward VI became, first, Dean of Christ Church, and later, under Elizabeth, Dean of Ely, is worth noting in view of the fact that his pupil, John Cook, was appointed to St. Paul's shortly after the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth.

At King's, where he was admitted as scholar in 1533, and became a fellow in due course, Cook graduated in 1538, and nothing is known as to the manner in which he was occupied in the twenty years which elapsed before he became high master of St. Paul's, except that he was enjoined by the Provost in 1545 to study Divinity and in the following year obtained a licence from his college to go abroad for two years *causa studii*.

The restoration of Protestantism resulted probably in the

disuse of the chapel at St. Paul's on Cook's election, for although a man earning the salary of the chaplain was still appointed, he is described in the records of this reign under several different titles, and prayers were said by the high master in the school-room.

That a school friendship with Lord Treasurer Burghley was maintained throughout life by Cook may be seen from a letter written by Cook thankfully acknowledging the obliging reception the great Minister of State once gave him after a long absence and intermission of acquaintance, "cum usus aliquis," so ran the letter, "a primo paene studiorum nostrorum curriculo, vix interesset."

Through the influence of Burghley with the Earl of Huntingdon Cook was presented to a country living in 1573; he obtained the prebend of South Muskham in 1586, and the fact that he died shortly after appears from the mention of his widow in the Mercers' accounts for the year 1590.

The esteem in which Cook was held is to be seen from the fact that he was selected by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, to distribute his brother Robert Nowell's benefactions.

On the tomb of Alexander Nowell, who was appointed to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1560, of which there is an engraving in Dugdale's *History*,¹ there occurs the following line—

"Praesidi scholae Paulinae plurimorum auctori."

Dean Nowell, as executor of his brother, Robert Nowell, Attorney-General of the Court of Wards, was charged with the responsibility of distributing some part of his brother's estate in charity, on the death of the latter in 1568-9. The accounts of his disbursements which have been preserved

¹ 1716, p. 112.

show in some detail the objects on which they were bestowed. One of the first entries is as follows—

"Gownes geven to certeyn poor schollers of the scholls aboute London in number 32, viz. St. Pauls, Merchant Taylors, St. Anthony's Schole, St. Saviours grammer Schole, and Westminster Schole. Cost of cloth without making, xix li. x s. viij d."

In the same year an entry occurs, "To Nycholas Benall for makinge of viij gownes for seven schollers of poulls scholl as by the acquittance . . . more at large aperethe." Then follow the names of seven boys, of whom one, described as "William husnis," is probably to be identified with a son of William Hunnis, a musician and poet who was master of the children of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Edward VI.

The third payment from Robert Nowell's estate which was made in Cook's high mastership, and with which we are concerned, runs, "Toe the schollars of paulls schole the xxth of December, Anno 1570 xvij d."

We have already seen how other references in "The Spending Book" of Robert Nowell prove conclusively that the "Paul's School" referred to throughout is the foundation of Dean Colet, and not any other. Further evidence of the interest of Dean Nowell in the offspring of his predecessor's bounty is to be found in the fact that his nephew, William Whitaker, is said by Abdias Asheton, Nowell's biographer, "to have been kindly entertained by his uncle at the Deanery of St. Paul's, and put under the tuition of Cook, the learned master of St. Paul's School."

Whitaker, who must have been brought by his uncle to London from his birthplace, Burnley in Lancashire, was a well-known Calvinistic divine, the champion of Protestantism against the great Jesuit, Bellarmine. He became in turn Canon of Norwich, Regius Professor of Divinity at

Cambridge, Fellow of Eton, and finally, on the recommendation of Archbishop Whitgift and Lord Burghley, was elected to the mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The fact that Alexander Nowell sent his nephew to St. Paul's, and that from his brother's estate he made certain gifts to the boys of that school in common with those of other schools in London, is not enough to bear out the explicit statement in his epitaph that he was a benefactor to St. Paul's School.

The one circumstance which seems to bear this interpretation is to be found in a composition effected, just after Cook's retirement in 1574, between the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral and Jesus College, Cambridge, by which a dispute as to the will of one John Reston, D.D., was settled on the following terms : The cathedral on the one hand surrendered to the college all claim to certain property which came under a bequest of Dr. Reston, and the college in return undertook to maintain one Reston Fellow and eight Reston scholars, and granted to the Dean and Chapter the right of nominating seven (not, as has been said, two) of the scholars, from candidates "chosen from time to time from St. Paul's School or in defect from any other."

On the death in 1560 of James Jacob, the third husband of Dionysia Lily, Cook appointed Christopher Holden to succeed him as surmaster. It is of interest to note that, like the high master, he was an Etonian, and that in 1548 he proceeded from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, with William Malym and Richard Mulcaster, two future high masters of St. Paul's. All that is known concerning Christopher Holden while at the school is to be found in an entry dated 1570, in the Spending Book of Robert Nowell, "To the usher of Poules Scolle, to give to his cousins in Oxford as appeareth by an abstract of 28 of October ; xx s.

An indication of the manner in which the religious changes consequent on the accession of Elizabeth affected the school is to be seen in an entry in the accounts for the years 1561-1562 : "Paid for taking away the pictur out of the Scole where the master sayeth prayers 8d." This refers, of course, to the picture of Jesus—probably "Christ Jesus in puericia"—which only four or five years earlier had been set up once more and had been painted, gilded and renovated. It may be noted in this connection that in the same year, 1561, the Provost of Eton gave orders "for pullinge downe a tabernacle of stone in the body of the church," and also "For whiting Doctor Lupton's chapell." The reference, in the extract from the accounts which has just been quoted, to the master saying prayers in the school seems to suggest that on the accession of Elizabeth the chapel was no longer used. Possibly it was turned into a library. Mention has already been made in our account of Freeman's high mastership of the fact that no one drawing the salary of the chaplain was appointed from 1557 until 1560. In that year one Elles, and in the following year Thomas Holden, who was possibly a brother of the surmaster, were appointed to the chaplain's place and salary, but in each case under the title of "he that teaches the first form." Holden's successor, Thomas Hodles, was appointed in 1567 as "teacher of the petties." No name is recorded as having held the post in 1568. In the following year Thomas Mercer is mentioned without any comment, but once again in 1571 Richard Wilkynsonne is down as "Teacher of the first form there Accidence or Petite with the Cathechyson, the Articles of the Christian faith and the ten Commandments."

The history of the most important change effected in the school during the high mastership of Cook is to be found in a resolution of the Court passed on June 2, 1564, in

which attention was called to "the publication and zealous exhortation of the preachers in their several distinct sermons made the Spital without Bishopsgate this Easter holidays now last past for certain Fellowships to find Two Scholars a year to the number of 12 Company's. Whereupon when this assembly had heard the said matter opened they liked the notion thereof very well and bare there good minds and zeales to the furtherance and maintenance thereof. Whereupon it was by this Assembly fully and wholly condescended, concluded and agreed, that this Fellowship is well contented to find at this time one scholar or more to the University at their proper cost and charge to continue in the University during their freewill minds and pleasure and as touching the sum of money towards the Exhibition and finding of the said one Scholar or more Scholars is by this assembly agreed to be xij lib. vj s. viij d. so always the Fellowships full minds and consents is that the aptest and meetest Scholars in Pauls School to be advanced and preferred to the University and specially Mercers children of this Fellowship if any such may be found apt and meet there to be preferred and advanced to the Companys Exhibitions now granted before any others." These were ordered to be paid out of the school funds.¹

On July 26 in the same year, articles or terms on which the exhibitions were to be held were drawn up by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, and the Court notified its willingness "to found two Exhibitions of 10 marks each per annum for one graduate in Oxford and one in Cambridge to be appointed by the Company from time to time and the Exhibition to continue during the Company's pleasure." The first exhibitioner was elected in the month of September in the same year, and received the emoluments annually for four and a half years, in spite of the

¹ Vol. ii., Rep. of Royal Commission on Livery Cos., 1884, p. 9.

"Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officiare possunt, nos alumnos hujus scholae ab ipso Coletto olim Templi Paulini Decano exstructae, teneras palmas ad coelum tendentes, Christum optimum maximum precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoris summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam redeat Amen."

Holinshed¹ also quotes the speech *in extenso*, and the Latin elegiac verses which followed as well, "which the Queene's maiestie most attentuelie hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper and deliuered it vnto the queenes maiestie which most gentlie received the same."

The contribution of Queen Elizabeth to the plays acted before her at Christmas 1563 by the boys of St. Paul's and Westminster was fifty marks. It may be conjectured that the sum was equally divided between the two schools.

Of sixteenth-century high masters, John Cook, albeit less is known of his career than of that of almost any of his immediate predecessors or successors, may claim the credit of being the only one in the course of that century to approach Lily in the number of distinguished men who have been identified as his pupils. One sidelight, however, which, although biassed, deserves mention, has been preserved in the autobiographical memoranda of John Sanderson, Levant merchant, which is preserved in the British Museum, in which the writer, who, be it said, uniformly traduced his contemporaries, declares, "Now the misery I had at Grammar School was very great by reason of my unaptness. Before sixteen years I gave over all Latin, having been meanly instructed of mad freeschool masters, Cooke and Houlden. The said Coke (*sic*) with lashes set more than seven scars on my

¹ Hol., iii. 1177; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 319.



WILLIAM WHITAKER, MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

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hide which yet remain." Of another of his pupils, Richard Perceval, it is stated¹ that he was educated at St. Paul's School, "then the most famous nursery of learning in England." Perceval, on leaving St. Paul's, followed his father to Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently travelled in Spain for several years. On his return—possibly on the recommendation of his old school-master—he entered the service of Lord Burghley, at whose suggestion he was employed to decipher certain papers which gave the first information of the destination of the Spanish Armada. He was Secretary of the Court of Wards, and sat in the first Parliament of James I as member for Richmond, Yorks. He was dismissed from his post in 1614, but in 1617 he became Registrar of the Court of Wards in Ireland, where he laid the foundation of the Irish estates of the Earls of Egmont.

John Sanderson, an even more adventurous soldier of fortune than Perceval, has only been identified as an Old Pauline in the last few years through the disparaging reference to the high master and surmaster which has already been quoted. It is an interesting fact that the circumstance of his brother, Thomas Sanderson, having been at St. Paul's was also discovered in recent years through the occurrence of his name in another obscure MS. at the British Museum. Born in 1560 in St. Paul's Churchyard, John Sanderson, on leaving school, was bound apprentice to a Flanders merchant, who subsequently transferred him to the service of the Turkey Company. This led to his being sent to Constantinople in 1584, and attached to the household of the ambassador, the only British agent at that time permanently stationed abroad, part of whose expenses were defrayed by the Turkey Company. Having visited Egypt and Syria he returned to England in 1588, and fitted out a vessel to sail to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, but having

¹ Anderson's *House of Ivory*.

encountered storms, and being attacked by Spaniards, he got no further than Madeira, and came home penniless.

He then returned to Constantinople, where he remained for nearly six years, during part of which time he acted as deputy for the ambassador, a post which would now be dignified by the title of *charge d'affaires*. He returned to England by Aleppo, Cyprus, Venice, and overland through Germany in 1598, but started once more for the East in the following year, and there spent three more years, during which he visited Palestine. After his final return home in 1602, he contributed a record of his travels to the second volume of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.

Four of Cook's pupils, including William Whitaker, are known to have obtained fellowships at Oxford or Cambridge. They include Henry Hickman of St. John's, Cambridge, the son of a country gentleman in Essex, Thomas Langherne of Pembroke Hall, who was an exhibitioner of the school, and Anthony Egliefield of Queen's, Oxford, whose name occurs among the "Schollers of Poulls School" who received gowns from Robert Nowell's estate in the year 1568. Henry Hickman became in turn Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough, Master in Chancery, and M.P. for Northampton. Nothing is known concerning the subsequent careers of the other Old Paulines who have been named.

In 1572 the Mercers' Company obtained judgment (which was entered in the Exchequer in Trinity Term, Anno Eliz. 15) against Mr. Knevett, who had laid an information against them for "concealed chauncery lands," namely, the endowment of Dean Colet for a chaplain, all chantry endowments having been granted to the Crown by Edward VI, c. 14. Knevett, who was probably a member of the family of Dame Christian Colet, failed in his "profes," but nevertheless, by the mediation of Sir Walter Mildmay



JOHN HOWSON, BISHOP OF OXFORD AND OF DURHAM

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and others, "out of their meere liberalitye" the company gave Mr. Knevet forty pounds sterling. In spite of this payment, which looks suspiciously like hush money, the same trouble frequently occurred in subsequent years. In 1579-80, the Mercers again entered an appearance in the Exchequer on the same complaint; and in 1580, a fine of £300 was recorded against the company for the same matter. This does not appear to have been paid out of Dean Colet's estate, since a loan was raised by the company for the purchase of his rents. The sum was awarded by the Crown to David Dely and Nicholas Hilyard, goldsmiths, who, no doubt, were the informers, and the Queen by letters-patent granted the rents and tenements to the company.¹ Further entries on the same subject recur in 1582-3. It was no doubt owing to this question having been raised in the Courts that when Richard Wilkinson, the chaplain, retired on the appointment of Malym to the high mastership on Lady Day 1573, his successor's title was "the Under Usher, or rather callyd the teacher of the petties or Accidence there the Cathechysmus and Ten Commaundementes in Inglysh."

The final stage in the story of Colet's chantry endowment is reached in the passing of a private Act, 4 James I, c. 10, by which outstanding questions were settled, and all lands, rents and hereditaments devised to any of the city companies, and mentioned in the letters-patent of Edward VI, were confirmed to the Mercers and the other companies concerned, and the trusts on which they were held were legalized.

The most distinguished man educated by Cook was John Howson, who went from St. Paul's to Christ Church, of which he later became a Canon and acted as Vice-

¹ Report of Royal Commission of City of London Companies, 1884, vol. ii. p. 11.

chancellor of the University. He was one of the original fellows of King James I's College at Chelsea, founded in 1610, and in 1618 he became Bishop of Oxford, from which he was translated to Durham, where he remained until his death in 1632, when he was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He is said to have delighted King James by his declaration that he would loosen the Pope from his chair, though he were fastened thereto by a tenpenny nail.

William Camden, who came to St. Paul's from Edward VI's recently founded Christ's Hospital, appears from this fact to have been the son of a poor man, but he went up to Oxford, where in turn he was a member of three different colleges, a few years before the school exhibitions had been established. Two years after graduating he became assistant master at Westminster, and after eighteen years in that post, at the express order of Queen Elizabeth, the statutes of the school enjoining that the head master of Westminster should be in orders were set aside in his favour, for although he held a prebendal stall at Salisbury, Camden remained all his life a layman.

The Queen showed him favour once again by ordering the Chapter to give him his commons free, and in 1596, "having gathered a contented sufficiency by his long labours in the School," he retired. He was appointed Richmond Herald, and in 1597, Clarencieux King-at-Arms. Like his schoolfellow, John Howson, he was connected with Chelsea College, where he held the professorship of history. The closing years of his life were occupied with antiquarian works, of which the most famous is the *Britannia*, materials for which he had collected when a master at Westminster. He endowed the Chair of Ancient History at Oxford which bears his name, and on his death in 1623 was buried in Westminster Abbey.

While a school-master he compiled a Greek Grammar for



Wm. Willm. Camden

Archibald
1712

WILLIAM CAMDEN, HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER AND
CLARENCEUX KING-AT-ARMS

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the use of Westminster School, which remained in use there until the publication of Busby's Grammar about 1647. It was read by the boys at Eton until long after this date, and it is a curious illustration of the acquisitiveness of Eton College, that the Greek Grammar of the Old Pauline head master of Westminster became known to generations of Etonians, until a date within living memory, as the Eton Greek Grammar, just as the Latin Grammar of the first high master of St. Paul's was without any justification entitled the Eton Latin Grammar.

Of his eight years' rule at Eton rather more is known than of that of his immediate predecessors or successors. In the library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is the original MS. of his celebrated *Consuetudinarium*, which provides the best account extant of life in any public school in the middle of the sixteenth century. It comprises a description of the rules and observances of the college prepared by Malym shortly after his appointment with a view to the visit of the Royal Commissioners of 1561, or else, possibly, it was merely compiled by the new head master for the purpose of informing himself of the conditions in which he was taking on the school, and of the mode in which he was to be directed in its government. The inclusion in the *Consuetudinarium* of a direction that the boys should go to confession on Ash Wednesday, which is crossed through with a pen, points to a religious change which was probably imposed on the head master.

Malym carried on the flogging tradition in which he had been brought up by Udall, the Eton master of whom the Old Pauline and Old Etonian, Thomas Tusser, the author of *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandry*, had written—

“From Powles I went, to Æton sent,
To learne straightwayes the Latin phrase,
Wher fifty three stripes given to mee
At once I had.
For faut but small, or none at all,
It came to passe thus beat I was,
See, Udall, See, the mercy of thee
To mee, poor lad.”

It was the escape of some Eton boys from the school after a flogging at the hands of William Malym which led to that well-known dinner-table discussion at Windsor Castle, where Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, Sir Richard Sackville, the first cousin of Anne Boleyn, who, fifty years before, had “been driven before he was fullie

fourteene years olde from all love of learning," John Astley, the Master of the Jewel House, and others aired their views on education, the result of which was that one of the company, Roger Ascham, wrote *The Scholemaster*.

Two years after his appointment to Eton the Queen, on her arrival at Windsor, to which she came in order that she might escape the dangers of the plague in London, was welcomed with congratulatory addresses by Malym and his scholars, and in the handsomely bound copy of the MS. of these speeches, which is in the British Museum,¹ there is a preface obviously written by Malym himself, in which the boys are made to solicit promotion for their master at the hands of her gracious Majesty.

In view of the flogging propensities of Malym the terms of this petition are of no little interest, for in it the Queen is requested, if she is pleased with the efforts of the Eton boys, to bestow some mark of favour on "our dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness by day and by night we have in a short time attained such proficiency in literature," and she is further begged "not to suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want, or to be ground down by ceaseless labours or studies" after having spent twenty years at Eton and Cambridge.

There is extant² a letter in Italian, dated six years later, from Malym to Burghley, in which, in addition to sending the Minister a copy of complimentary Latin verses, the school-master thanks him for his influence with the Earl of Leicester, and it may well be that the presentation of Malym to the prebend of Biggleswade in the diocese of Lincoln, which took place in that year, was due to the good offices of his friend and school-fellow with the most powerful man of the moment.

¹ De Adventu . . . Eliz. Reginae. ad arces Windesorienses, 1563.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 331, Mar. 1569.

Haec mea vota precor supplex, ne segnus hauri
 Candide Maecenas, unus qui singula possis.
 Sic tibi multiplices current foeliciter anni
 Prospera magnanimi, numeres et lustra Metelli."

Maecenas, however, remained obdurate, and Malym remained at St. Paul's until 1581. He is said to have died in 1594.

A curious record dealing with the finances of the school is preserved in the accounts of Thomas Egerton, who was surveyor-accountant in 1574-5. In this statement that official writes, "Given to my late predecessor Thomas More by way of Malivolence—Benevolence I should say,—for otherwise the reste (*i. e.* balance) of his account was not to be gotten out of his hand ; but he would be his own bayly, xxv lib." From the records of 1575-6 it appears that Thomas Egerton recovered from his successor the surplus of the expense of the audit dinner, amounting to more than £10, which his predecessor, More, ought to have paid to him. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of the details of this transaction.

During Malym's high mastership the "shedde or lyttel house of tymber" attached to St. Dunstan's chapel at the east end of the cathedral, to which the boys of the school had access, was repaired and converted into a residence "for the pore man, the porter of the Schole to be more readier to attend upon the said Schole and to keep it clean." There appears reason to suppose from this that in or before 1573 the Poor Child was relieved of his duties by a porter ; the house of the latter, however, was subsequently turned into an under usher's house, in which capacity it was maintained, after having been still further enlarged, until the year 1620.

Sir Thomas Elyot, in "The Boke named the Governour," in the course of which is mapped out the education of

a gentleman, expresses approval of manly exercises such as wrestling, hunting, swimming, shooting with the cross-bow, and tennis, but refuses to sanction the game of football because "therein is nothing but beastly furie, and external violence, whence procedeth hurte, & consequently rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded."

Malym did not share these views. We know that at Eton his pupils played football without let or hindrance, and it may therefore be assumed that Paulines during his high mastership did likewise.

While at St. Paul's Malym provided a polyglot lexicon in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, and High Dutch. When he retired the Court of the Mercers made him a present and bought this and other "implements" for the use of the school, the sum of nineteen shillings being charged in the accounts for the purchase of the polyglot lexicon, which may be assumed to have formed the nucleus of a library.

Judging from the number of men who held the post, called, as we have seen, for the first time under Malym, under usher, and not chaplain, the high master must have been a difficult man with whom to get on. After the first under usher retired the accounts record a sum "paid to one Harrolde, under ushere, for three weeks teaching a little afore Bradshaws coming . . . and so dismissed." Of Robert Bradshaw it is on record that "he had much contention with Malym and Holden." The next entry relates to "a young man that wayted a moneth at Powles School hoping to have been placed in Bradshaws room." The three succeeding occupants of the post were appointed within a period of three years.

Malym, whose Latin style was fluent but affected, and who, according to Strype,¹ "writ a fine hand," published, in

¹ *Stow*, vol. i. p. 167.

Thomas Sanderson became Archdeacon of Rochester ; Richard Clerke, Vicar of Minster, was one of the learned men to whom the translation of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament was entrusted. The third is Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey de Vere, and nephew of the Earl of Oxford. It is not known whether other members of his family—the “ Fighting Veres,” as they were called—were educated at St. Paul’s, but one may surmise that Sir Francis’s two brothers, Robert and Sir Horace, afterwards Lord Vere of Tilbury, were also educated under Malym. Vere’s contribution to the addresses to the Queen strangely foreshadowed his coming career in the words—

“ Flandria cujus item postulat omnis opem.”

In 1586 he was fighting in the Low Countries, and was soon placed in command of a company. In the following year Vere won his spurs on the ramparts at the siege of Sluys against the renowned *tercio viejo*—the pick of the Spanish infantry—and was known henceforth as “ young Vere who fought at Sluys.” He was knighted in the following year as a reward for his success in raising the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. He earned the reputation of being the greatest general of the Elizabethan age ; became in turn Commander-in-Chief in the Netherlands and Governor of Brill. He was severely wounded in the victory at Nieuport, and on the proclamation of peace with Spain by King James, he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth. On his death, in 1609, he was buried with military honours in Westminster Abbey on a spot marked by a splendid black marble monument. Cyril Tourneur, the dramatist, wrote a “ Funerall Poeme ” in his honour.

CHAPTER IX

THE AMENDING ORDINANCES OF 1602

JOHN HARRISON AND RICHARD MULCASTER, HIGH MASTERS
1581-1608

JOHN HARRISON, 1581-1596

ONE of the last acts of Malym before sending in his resignation of the high mastership was, in the course of the year 1580, to appoint John Harrison to the vacancy in the surmastership caused by the resignation or death of an Old Pauline, John Medley, who had held the office for two years.

After Malym's departure, according to the Mercers' accounts, "a number of our company assembled with Mr. Deane of Powels, and other learned men, for the tryall of the said Schole Masters sufficiency." The recently-appointed surmaster was the successful candidate, and it is worth noting that he is referred to by Mr. Dean (Alexander Nowell) as "our cosyn," and received gifts from Nowell on many occasions, including benefactions from Robert Nowell's estate which were paid to him while an Eton boy.

The unsuccessful candidate on this occasion, who received a present for his expenses, was no less a person than "Mr. Wilkinson, reader of the Greek Lector at Cambridge," whom we may probably identify with Henry Wilkinson, a Fellow of Trinity, who had had some experience of teaching, as he had been first under master at Merchant Taylors' from 1573-1576, and who, on the retirement of Mulcaster

from the head mastership of Merchant Taylors' in 1586, was appointed to succeed him, and retained that post until 1593.

Harrison, like his predecessor, was an Etonian, and had entered the foundation of King's College, Cambridge, in 1570, being elected fellow three years later. He graduated in due course in 1574, proceeded to his master's degree in 1578, and the tenure of his fellowship came to an end in the following year.

Thomas Baker, the Cambridge historian, who as a rule is trustworthy, says that he was expelled from King's "ob doctrinam minus sanam in concione evulgatam, quam retractare noluit," and this note is recorded against his name by Anthony à Wood in reference to the occasion of his taking his *ad eundem* degree at Oxford in 1585, four years after his appointment to St. Paul's.

The year of Harrison's succession to Malym is remarkable in the history of the school as being that in which occurs the first recorded mention of the Apposition, for in the accounts of the Mercers' Company is to be found a reference to money "paid for dinner at the examination of the scholars at Candlemas." After this entry occur regular records of the Apposition, conducted by two Apposers, and followed in each instance by a dinner. The latter was held as a rule in the school. Once, at least, it was held in the bishop's palace, and in 1592 it took place at the Mercers' Hall and not in the school, "for that two or three had died of the sickness lately." Three years later it was held in the same place for another reason, and we find this ominous entry : "The audit dinner for the accompt was holden at Mercers' Hall this year, for that Harrison still kept possession of the school house."

The explanation of this statement is to be found in the litigation in which the high master, Richard Smyth the sur-

master, and Francis Herring the usher on the one hand were engaged against the Mercers' Company on the other. In 1592 Harrison exhibited before Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, articles touching various abuses alleged by him to have been committed by the company in the management of the property of the school. In particular he complained that although the rents of the estates had greatly increased since the foundation of the school, the salaries of the masters had not been augmented because the company claimed the surplus as their own. The company, in answer to these articles,¹ admitted that they claimed "the inheritance of the lands after providing for casualties, reparations, and other contingent charges extraordinary as time and occasion should require at their discretion," and that "such overplus as falleth out from time to time is kept in their hall in good safety, in which place the founder appointed it to be kept, and the same belongeth to the said company by the special gift and appointment of the said founder."

The result of these proceedings in the "Archers," as the Court of Arches is called in the records at Mercers' Hall, is not known. Samuel Knight says that "by an order agreed and established, Harrison's salary was considerably increased to him and his successors," but in 1596 Harrison was replaced in the high mastership by Richard Mulcaster. In the same year the surmaster and usher took proceedings in the Court of Chancery² against the company, while in 1598 Harrison joined with them and filed a bill in Chancery, "as well for and in behalf of themselves as for the maintenance and benefit of the same school." The purpose of these proceedings was to secure the reinstatement of Harrison as high master.

¹ *Times*, Feb. 12, 1870.

² *Law Times Reports*, 1870.

The company, although only formal defendants to this bill, put in an answer, which is a long-winded document full of abuse of Harrison and his co-plaintiffs as "factious, turbulent, and malapert fellows," and they appear to have withdrawn all claims to any of the school property which had been made by them before the Court of Arches, and to have admitted that they were trustees of the entire revenues of the school, and of the surplus for the benefit of the school, protesting that "whatever the rest truly is, the same should always be ready to be employed for the use of the school as good occasion should be offered and equitie and good conscience require." An account was directed on Harrison's suit upon the answer coming on, but the suit was not brought to a hearing, and the bill was ultimately dismissed for want of prosecution. The statement in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, that Harrison died in 1596, is obviously incorrect in view of this litigation.

Richard Mulcaster, the new high master, who was appointed on Harrison's dismissal on August 5, 1596, had, as we shall see, been performing the duties of that office in an ambiguous manner for more than a year before that date, for he had charge of the boys of St. Paul's in his school in Milk Street during the time in which the Mercers were engaged in ejecting the *de facto* high master from his possession of the school house in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Of Harrison's personal character nothing is known save that he describes himself as "an unprofitable grammarian," while Knight places it on record that "he was a great antiquary for coins and English history." In a codicil to Dean Nowell's will, executed after 1592, there are bequests to his cousin Mr. Harrison and his wife £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and to every one of their children 2*s.*

Richard Smyth, the surmaster, was not removed from that post at the time of Harrison's dismissal. He remained

Taylors' School was so great that not only was he able to fill the school with boys, but he also crowded his house with boarders over and above the statutory number. The Merchant Taylors' Company disapproved of this, and compelled him to get rid of his private pupils in 1567. In spite of his compliance over this matter, however, matters did not proceed smoothly between the company and the school-master, for it appears that in 1574 he was cited before the Court of the company, and had perforce to admit, albeit after some demur, that "his injurious and quarrelling speech at the last election day, had been spoken of collor,"¹ but although for a while matters were patched up, after the lapse of a little time a reverse in the fortunes of Mr. Hill deprived the head master of the £10 per annum which had been added to his statutory salary, and the parsimony of the company and Mulcaster's violent temper brought about a further crisis which resulted, in 1586, in his resignation in disgust at the treatment which he had received, although, being wiser than Harrison, he had not rushed into legal proceedings, which in that case had so fully vindicated the employers at the expense of their servant. The Merchant Taylors' Company realized the ability of the man whose services they had lost, but to their prayers that he should retain the head mastership, the only reply which Mulcaster would condescend to make was the pungent aphorism "Fidelis servus, perpetuus asinus."

The accounts of St. Paul's prove the inaccuracy of the statement contained in Wilson's *History of Merchant Taylors'*, to the effect that he was appointed surmaster of St. Paul's immediately on his resignation of the head mastership of Merchant Taylors'. The matter for surprise is that even after the lapse of ten years, having had experience of a city company, and having heard what must have been the

¹ Choler.

common gossip of the city, as to the strife between Harrison and the Mercers, in spite of these facts Mulcaster should have once more accepted employment at the hands of one of the livery companies.

All that is known of Mulcaster's career during the period of time which elapsed before he was appointed to St. Paul's is that from 1590-1591 he was vicar of Cranbrook, Kent, and in April, 1594, he received the Prebend of Yatesbury in the diocese of Salisbury. His relations with the Merchant Taylors' Company during these years appear to have been anomalous. In spite of the cavalier manner in which he had left the school, he appears to have attended the annual examination on St. Barnabas' Day, in Suffolk Lane, as an examiner, in 1595, 1596, and 1601. The date at which he opened his school in Milk Street, to which Paulines were sent during the protracted recalcitrancy of Harrison, is not known, but that he was unable, without calling in the assistance of other teachers, to cope with the great addition which was thus made to the numbers of his pupils, is proved by entries in the accounts for the year after he had become high master, to this effect, "Paid to Christopher Johnson for his pains in teaching under Mr. Mulcaster, till Lady Day in Lent last," "Paid to John Bevane for reward for teaching the schollers of Poules one quarter, under Mr. Moncaster in Mylk Street," and again, "To Mr. Mansfield, late Mr. Moncaster's usher."

On the removal of Harrison, Mulcaster's *de jure* high mastership became translated into an actual fact, and his appointment dates from August 1596. In view of the fact that he entered at King's in 1548, Mulcaster must have been at least sixty-six years of age when he was elected high master, and since he remained in the school for twelve years, his age was nearly four score when he retired, so that he

may claim the distinction of having been one of the oldest high masters to remain in office at St. Paul's.

On his appointment Richard Smyth, who had aided and abetted Harrison in his conflict with the Mercers, was, for some unknown reason, nevertheless retained in his office as surmaster, but the under usher, Francis Herring, having been dismissed, the post was filled by Christopher Johnson, who, as we have seen, was Mulcaster's assistant in Milk Street.

Fuller, whose son entered St. Paul's forty-five years after Mulcaster's death, gives an account of the latter which deserves to be quoted *in extenso*: "His method in teaching was this: In a morning he would exactly and plainly construe and parce the lessons to his Scholars: which done he slept his hour, (custom made him critical to proportion it) in his desk in the School, but wo the scholar that slept the while! Awaking he heard them accurately, and Atropos might be persuaded to pity, as soon as he to pardon, where he found just fault. The prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him just as far as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending child. In a word he was Plagosus Orbilius: though it may truly be said (and safely for one out of his School) that others have taught as much Learning with fewer lashes. Yet his sharpness was the better because unpartial, and many excellent scholars were bred under him." The opinion expressed by Mulcaster himself was that he would have done better if he had used with his scholars "more correction and less curtesie." According to Anthony à Wood, "his excellencies in grammar poetry & philology" were such that on his application for the head mastership of Merchant Taylors' in 1581 he was unanimously elected.

Like his great predecessor, William Lily, Mulcaster attached great importance to vocal music as an educational factor. He taught his boys music and singing. Sir James

Whitelock, who was one of the first of his pupils at Merchant Taylors', speaks of "Mulcaster's care to increase my skill in musique." His views as to the value of a dramatic training led to the frequent appearance of "Master Munkester's children," as they are called, in the masques and interludes acted before Queen Elizabeth, but a record has been preserved of the presentation of only one play by his pupils at St. Paul's, unless, indeed, a Latin play called *Sapientia Salomonis*, which we know was acted by Paulines before the Queen, was produced during his high mastership.

It has been suggested that Holofernes, the pompous pedagogue of *Love's Labour's Lost*, is a caricature of Mulcaster, but no corroboration of the surmise has been forthcoming, and it is more probable that Shakespeare drew the character in mockery of George Hunt, his own school-master in the grammar school at Stratford-on-Avon.

Mulcaster's advanced views on educational matters, taken with his practical success in teaching, have earned for him the title of the greatest of Elizabethan school-masters. In his *Positions*, which is still studied by educationalists, he lays stress upon the need of a system of training for the profession of teaching, and he declares that "I am tooth and nail for women in matters of education." He insists upon the importance of physical exercise as a part of a child's training, and, like Ascham, writes in praise of archery as a "principall exercise in the preseruing of health," nearly thirty years before John Lyon embodied the well-known proviso in his statutes for Harrow School that every boy should possess "bow shafts, bow strings, and a bracer to exercise."

Mulcaster's linguistic and scholastic criticisms, as set forth in his *Elementarie*, are of literary interest, but it must be admitted that his prose tends to imperil his thesis that English speech is as precise as Latinity itself.

priest or chaplain by an under usher, and for conformity with the laws of the realm in regard to religious observances. They forbade any payment for teaching to be made to any of the masters of the school. Permission was given to employ a poor man in place of the poor scholar to sweep the school and the leads.

Owing to the rise in the rents and profits of Dean Colet's estates to twice their original value, the salaries of the masters and the allowances to the officers of the company entrusted with the care of the school and its property were doubled.

These ordinances removed the founder's restriction of expenditure on the surveyor-accountant's "little dinner" to four nobles, and allowed the Mercers to expend such sum as they "shall in their discretion thinck fitt, soe as the same be expended in frugall manner without excesse."

Finally it was provided that the surplus ordered by Colet to be kept in an iron chest at Mercers' Hall should either be spent on exhibitions tenable by Paulines at the Universities, or else should be lent out by the Mercers on good security to poor young men of the company at the risk of the Mercers.

Few of Mulcaster's pupils at St. Paul's attained to any distinction. Michael Boyle, who was also no doubt at Merchant Taylors', became Dean of Lismore, and later was created Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. His kinsman, Richard Boyle, also gained preferment in Ireland. He became Dean of Waterford, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, and finally Archbishop of Tuam.

John Hassall, a contemporary at St. Paul's of Richard Boyle, rose to be Dean of Norwich, and Samuel Browne became a well-known divine. Three of Mulcaster's pupils who went from St. Paul's with exhibitions to Oxford also held scholarships from Merchant Taylors' School at St.

John's College, Oxford, but the arrangement by which the high master effected this has never been discovered.

One of Mulcaster's pupils, Arthur Best by name, who went up to Cambridge with an exhibition in 1599, was in addition the recipient of the benefits of another endowment. Dr. Thomas Watts, Dean of Bocking and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who died in 1577, bequeathed part of his estate to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, for the maintenance of seven scholars with a general preference to boys educated at metropolitan schools.¹ One of the first who enjoyed the benefits of this was Lancelot Andrews, Mulcaster's distinguished pupil at Merchant Taylors'. A list of these scholars down to the year 1636 and containing about eighty names, of which less than half are those of Londoners, is preserved in the Bodleian.

The names of only three of them are those of boys who are known to have been educated at St. Paul's, that of Best being the first.

¹ H. B. Wilson, M. Ts. Schl., vol. i. p. 24, vol. ii. p. 557.

picture at the upper ende of the Schole." As far as we know this portrait remained *in situ* until the Great Fire.

That the mantle of Mulcaster as a flogging master fell on the shoulders of Gill may be inferred from the entry in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* to the effect that "often Dr. Gill whipped Duncombe, who was afterwards a colonel of Dragoons at Edgehill fight."

The same writer goes on to say, "Dr. Gill the father was a very ingeniose person, as may appeare by his writings. Notwithstanding he had his moodes and humours as particularly his whipping fits." From the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company it appears that on February 17, 1629, the complaint of a scholar, John Callis by name, against Mr. Gill was brought before the Court of Assistants, but the high master did not content himself with whipping his own pupils, for Aubrey relates how when "somebody had throwen a stone in at the window," a certain Sir John D., who was passing, was seized by the boys and beaten by Gill. The indignant knight "would have cutt the doctor, but he never went abroad but to church, and then his army went with him. He complained to the councill, but it became ridicule, and so his revenge sank."

Even Old Paulines were not immune from the high master's birch. According to the same authority, "Dr. Triplett came to give his master a visit, and he whipt him. The Dr gott Pitcher of Oxford who had a strong sweet base to sing under the schoole windowes, and gott a good guard to secure him with swords etc. & he was preserved from the examen of the little myrmidons which issued out to attack him." Thomas Triplett, the hero of this episode, who has not hitherto been identified as a Pauline, after graduating from Christ Church became a Canon of York and of Salisbury. His benefices were sequestrated by the Parliamentary party and he became

a school-master in Ireland. "One who went to his school in Dublin," says Aubrey, "tells how he had forgot the smart of his old master, Gill. He was very severe."¹

At the Restoration Triplett became Subdean and Canon of Westminster, where he is buried. To the treatment which he had received at the hands of Mr. Gill is no doubt attributable the fact that he robbed Paul to pay Peter, and left by his will a benefaction not to his old school but to Westminster, which is now of considerable value.²

Reference will be made in connection with the younger Gill to the song which he made his friend sing under the windows of the school, and which according to Aubrey "will last longer than any sermon that ever he made."

In carrying on the histrionic traditions of the school, Gill once again followed in the footsteps of his predecessor.

We read that on Quarter Day, 1617-18, "the scholars of Pawles made a play at the Mercers' Hall." On September 10, 1619, they acted at the Warden's feast at the same place, and under the year 1626-27 is the following entry: "Paid to the citty waites for Music, at the play that was acted by the Schollers, 5s."

What the plays were that were performed on these various occasions is not known, but that the comedies of Terence were included by the boys in their repertoire at this date may be judged from a little-known play-book published in 1627, and entitled "The two first Comedies of Terence called *Andria* and the *Eunuch*, newly Englished by Thomas Newman. Fitted for Schollers priuate action in their Schooles." Who Thomas Newman was is not known, but the "Epistle Dedicatore" begins thus: "To the Schollers of Pavles Schoole T.N. wisheth increase in grace and learning. What I at first intended for mine

¹ Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 264.

² Sergeant, p. 99.

phonetic by using points over the vowels to indicate the various sounds. Another crotchet which he aired in this book, which is a strange medley of metaphysics and philology, was his desire to preserve the Saxon purity of the English tongue against Latinisms, the presence of which in the *Canterbury Tales* caused him to inveigh against Chaucer, "whence," as he said, "has come down this new mange in our speaking and writing." Gill's contemporary, Thomas Wilson, from whose *Arte of Rhetorique* Shakespeare got hints for the character of Dogberry, shared his dislike of "foreign phrases counterfeiting the king's English." According to Professor Masson, Gill showed a really fine taste in his illustrative examples selected from the English poets, but his appreciation of the Satires of Wither, whom he described as the English Juvenal, drew down upon him the wrath of Ben Jonson, who wrote of him in *Time Vindicated, presented at Court, Twelfth Night, 1623*, in which he denounced Wither, as Chiromastix—

". . . There is a schoolmaster
Is turning all his works too into Latin,
To pure satyric Latin ; makes his boys
To learn him ; calls him the time's Juvenal ;
Hangs all his school with his sharp sentences,
And o'er the execution place hath paynted
Time whip't for terror to the infantry."

On his death, in 1635, Alexander Gill was buried in the Mercers' Chapel. His widow received a pension until the year 1648, and his daughter, Annah Bannister, received grants from the company in 1666, and after having become a widow, in 1673.

The list of his distinguished pupils will show how far he deserves the praise of Anthony à Wood, who says of him, "He had such an excellent way of training up youth that none in his time went beyond him, whence it was that many noted persons in Church and State did esteem it the greatest

of their happiness that they had been educated under him." Before considering the names of his eminent pupils, however, we must refer to one very valuable new endowment which the school enjoyed for the first time during his high mastership, the existence of which had a very marked bearing on the careers of pupils of Gill and his successors.

Ever since 1565 there had been a stream of boys to one or other of the Universities, who received an annual allowance of £5 out of Dean Colet's estate. Up to the year 1612, some fifty Paulines had reaped the benefit of this endowment. In that year the value of the exhibitions, which was still £5 per annum, was doubled, and about forty more boys had enjoyed the additional advantage so accruing when, in 1632, the exhibition fund was largely augmented by the liberality of Sir Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden, who by his will, made in 1629, amongst other devises, left one moiety of the tithes of the parish of Woodham, in the County of Northumberland (after the death of the then Earl of Northumberland, which occurred in 1632), to the Company of Mercers, in trust, to expend the income on the maintenance of exhibitioners at Trinity College, Cambridge, who were to be selected from the boys at St. Paul's School.

In 1634 the first two Campden Exhibitioners were appointed, the Mercers' Company undertaking to advance the necessary funds until the money came in from the property on the winding-up of the Duke of Northumberland's estate.

The original value of these exhibitions was £10 per annum, a figure at which they remained until 1802. The holders received this amount under the terms of the will, "until such Scholler and Schollers shall come to better preferment from Trinitie College."

Just before the Campden Exhibitions began to be

awarded, it was resolved by the Court of Assistants that scholars of St. Paul's must have been in the school for four years and no less before becoming entitled to be candidates for exhibitions. Allusion has already been made to the strange awards of exhibitions during Mulcaster's high mastership, and it is possible that the resolution in question, which is dated February 28, 1633, had some reference to these abuses, or to others of the same kind, by which boys entered the school for a few months merely to qualify themselves to become candidates for exhibitions.

Sir Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden, the first benefactor to the school since the founder, was the son of a wealthy member of the Mercers' Company, and although there is no direct evidence to which one can point, the generous provisions of his will certainly suggest that he was educated at St. Paul's. He sat in five parliaments, first for Tavistock and then for Tewkesbury, and having been knighted soon after James I's accession, was created a baronet in 1620, and was raised to the peerage by Charles I in 1628.

Baptist Hicks is said, by Stow, to have lent money to the Scots nobles in the reign of James I, and in this connection it is of interest to quote a letter from him to his brother, Sir Michael Hicks, which is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS., in which he says, "the Scots are fayr speakers and slow performers," and in consequence he will give them no more credit.

Sir Michael Hicks, Lord Campden's elder brother, who was also not improbably at St. Paul's, graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. He was secretary to Lord Burghley, and, after his death, to Sir Robert Cecil, being described by his contemporaries as "very jocose and witty." He was a man of sufficient wealth to lend money to Francis Bacon and

Fulke Greville, and at the same time to entertain King James at his house. He died in 1612.

The names of about eighty Paulines educated under Alexander Gill the elder have been preserved. The vast majority of these have been extracted from the lists of Pauline exhibitioners, but nearly a dozen have been recovered from the recently published admission registers of Caius College, Cambridge.

One of Gill's pupils, George Harris by name, held the Watts Scholarship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, to which reference has been made under Richard Mulcaster. He subsequently became under usher of the school during the high mastership of John Langley, but was dismissed in 1647 "in regard that he deserted the Schole of his own accord."

The first recorded mention of a poor scholar occurs during Gill's high mastership in the Mercer's accounts for 1624-5.¹ Six of Gill's pupils gained fellowships at the Universities. Of these, two became chaplains to King Charles I, two were ejected from their fellowships in 1644, and two were ardent supporters of the Parliamentary party.

Sir Roger Twysden, whose name has not hitherto appeared among lists of Old Paulines, was educated under Gill. He was the son of a Kentish gentleman, who was one of the original baronets of James I's creation, and succeeded to the title in 1629.

Although no action was taken against Sir Roger, he steadily refused to pay ship money, but the committal of Laud, and the attainder of Strafford, served to change views and caused him to oppose the Parliament. He devoted his life to the study of historical antiquities, and his writings are of much importance. It is impossible to believe that Sir Roger's younger brother, Sir Thomas Twisden, who

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 35.

entered Emmanuel with him on the same day, was not also at school with him at St. Paul's. He adopted the spelling Twisden by way of distinction from the rest of his family. He was called to the Bar. In 1654 he became a serjeant-at-law, and, as a reward for his loyalty, he was advanced to a puisne judgeship of the King's Bench, and was knighted in the year of the Restoration. Six years later a baronetcy was conferred upon him, and he retained his judicial rank until his death in 1613. It is possible that a third brother, John Twysden, a well-known physician, was also at St. Paul's.

Nothing is known of the place of education of Sir John Blackmore, the confidant of Cromwell, who after the Restoration became governor of St. Helena. It is most probable, however, that he was at St. Paul's, where his younger brother, William, went to school and gained an exhibition to Oxford. William Blackmore was ordained presbyter in 1647, but did not take the covenant. The Corporation of London, with which, no doubt, he had influence through his father, a gentleman living in Eastcheap, who was a distinguished member of the Fishmongers' Company, presented him to the living of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, where he remained until he was ejected in 1662. Another Old Pauline who suffered from the changes involved in the Restoration was George Lawrence, a violent Puritan, who was ejected from his post as preacher at the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester.

The most distinguished man, after Milton, educated by Gill, was Sir Charles Scarborough, who was described in Aubrey's letters as "an ingeniose young student," at the time when he was a Pauline Exhibitioner at Caius. He was elected Fellow of Caius, but was ejected by the Parliament and migrated to Oxford. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Physicians, and



P. Harding del.]

[J. Brown sc.

SIR CHARLES SCARBOROUGH, F.R.S., PRINCIPAL PHYSICIAN TO
CHARLES II, JAMES II AND WILLIAM III

[To face p. 165]



became principal physician to Charles II, James II, and William III. He was M.P. for Camelford in the same Parliament as Pepys, who describes him as "a learned and incomparable anatomist." He was a benefactor to the school library in 1674 and the following year. His son Edmund was at St. Paul's under Gale, and, according to Fuller, Sir Charles Scarborough revised Lily's Latin Grammar, "calculating his short, clear and true *rules* for the *meridian*" of this boy. Sir Charles worked on the generation of animals with William Harvey, who bequeathed his surgical instruments and his velvet gown to "my lovinge friend Mr. Doctor Scarborough," and it is interesting to note that Thomas Arris, the son of Sir Charles' chief assistant, was educated at St. Paul's with the great physician's son.

The recent publication of the registers of Caius College has led to the discovery of a pupil of Gill whose career is of some interest. Eleazer Dunkon, the son of a London doctor, after taking his degree, became a fellow and tutor of Pembroke, was prebendary in turn of Durham, Winchester, and York, and was appointed chaplain to Charles I. He was one of the most able and learned supporters of Laud's High Church policy. Having been stripped of his preferment he retired to the Continent, and in 1651 was in attendance on the English Court abroad. In that year Evelyn heard him officiate in Sir Richard Browne's chapel in Paris, and shortly afterwards he became chaplain to the Levant Company, and it was, no doubt, concerning his work in that capacity that Cosin, in 1659, wrote to Sancroft, "Now all his imployment is to make sermons before the English Merchants at Ligorne and Florence." The exact date of his death is unknown, but there is no doubt that had he not died before the event which his contemporaries described as "the miracle of our happy restauration" he would have been appointed to a bishopric.

It is more than probable that Dunkon's two brothers were also Old Paulines ; the elder, John, a religious author, was deprived of his cure and found shelter in the house of Lady Falkland, while Edmund, who was a Puritan, was intimate with George Herbert, and saw through the press his MS. of *A Priest to the Temple*.

Among the more distinguished pupils of the elder Gill must be mentioned Nathaniel Culverwell, a learned divine and Fellow of Emmanuel, one of the first of the Cambridge Platonists, the theologians for whom Bishop Burnet claimed "the high credit of having saved the Church of England from losing the esteem of the kingdom." His work, *The Light of Nature*, has been described as "a treatise of remarkable eloquence, power and learning."

It is probable that the boy named Richard Culverwell, whose name occurs in the registers of the school, was a brother of the Cambridge divine. Nothing is known of his career with the exception of the fact that he was, in 1634, one of the first two exhibitioners elected under Lord Campden's endowment.

Thomas Horton, the son of a member of the Mercers' Company, was contemporary with the elder Culverwell at that most Puritan of colleges, Emmanuel. He held an exhibition for ten years, in the course of which he was elected to a fellowship at Queens', of which college he was intruded as President by the Parliamentary visitors in 1648. Seven years earlier he had been elected Gresham Professor of Divinity. He was obliged to resign on the Restoration, and died thirteen years later, an incumbent of a city living.

Sir Thomas Heath, a Master in Chancery, became Comptroller of the Household to Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Charles Gatacre, a well-known theological writer, became chaplain to Lucius Carey, Viscount

Falkland ; and William Burton, head master of Kingston Grammar School, achieved some distinction as a classical scholar.

One of the pupils of Gill who achieved some distinction not unmixed with ridicule was Barton Hollidaie, who before coming to St. Paul's was a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford, a college at which, as an exhibitioner of St. Paul's, he gained a studentship. He became a famous preacher and chaplain to Charles I, was Archdeacon of Oxford, translated Persius, Juvenal and Horace, and was buried in the choir of Christ Church. As Archdeacon of Oxford he wrote a pedantic comedy, "an obliquity of distorted wit," Isaac D'Israeli calls it, which was acted before James I in 1630. According to Anthony à Wood, "being too grave for the king and too scholastic for the auditory, or as some have said, the actors having taken too much wine, his majesty offered several times after two acts to withdraw," but out of courtesy to his Oxford hosts he was prevailed to sit out the remaining three acts, a fact upon which the following lines were written—

"At Christ Church marriage done before the king,
Lest that those mates should want an offering,
The King himself did offer—What, I pray ?
He offered twice or thrice—to go away !"

The date of Milton's entry at St. Paul's School is not known. Anthony à Wood, who quotes from a "friend who was well acquainted with, and had from him (Milton) and from his relations after his death most of this account," declares¹ that he went up to Cambridge at the age of fifteen, and speaks of his staying up late at night at Christ's, "as at school for three years before." From this statement, if accurate, it would appear that Milton entered St. Paul's

¹ Wood, *Fasti*, p. 262.

either at the end of 1621 or early in 1622 ; but its value as hearsay evidence is not very great. It is known as a certain fact that Milton matriculated at Cambridge in 1624, at the age, not of fifteen, but of sixteen and a quarter, and, as Professor Masson has pointed out, Milton's lifelong friendship with Charles Diodati was formed at St. Paul's, and since Diodati went to Oxford in February 1621-2, we must allow more than a possible term for the friendship to ripen. For this reason he fixes Milton's entry at St. Paul's in 1620.

His own account of his school-days suggests an earlier date than 1620¹—

“ My father destined me, while yet a little boy, for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight ; which indeed was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar school and under other masters at home ; and then, when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities.”

In view of the fact that at the age of eleven, *i.e.* in 1618, Milton was astonishing his father's household with his Latin verses, the making of which was not taught in forms lower than the fourth, which in the ordinary course he would reach in three years, we may safely state that he went to school in 1615. Aubrey has the statement, “ When he went to school, when he was very young he studied very hard and sat up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night, and his father ordered the maid to sit up

¹ *Defensio Secunda*, Works, vi. 286.

for him." Speaking of a time when the average age at which boys entered public schools was eight or nine, it is impossible to insist on 1620, when the boy was thirteen years old, as the date of his entry in view of this assertion as to his having gone to school when "very young."

The influence upon Milton of his school days, spent under the shadow of the great Gothic cathedral, cannot be denied. It was at St. Paul's School that he learned to

"love the high embowèd roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light;
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced choir below
In service high and anthem clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

It was certainly not the chapel of Christ's, nor even Great St. Mary's at Cambridge which inspired the Puritan Poet with this picture of an ancient church, so different in its sentiment from that which inspired the vandalism of those who shared his political views.

Philips says that at St. Paul's the poet "was entered into the rudiments of learning and advanced therein with . . . admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and the good instructions of his masters . . . than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry."

Whatever was the date at which Milton was sent to St. Paul's by the Bread Street scrivener whose son he was, it is certain that he entered the school about the middle of the elder Gill's tenure of office, and both the high master and his son, who became usher in 1621, exercised great influence over the precocious school-boy. In Milton's early



Psalms was characteristic. "They raise," he says, "no great expectations ; they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder."

It is said that Mr. Gill on one occasion set the boys of St. Paul's a verse theme to write on the miracle of Cana, and that Milton showed up on his slate the single line—

"The conscious water saw its God and blushed,"

This line Richard Crashaw turned into the Latin epigram—

"Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit,"

a mere transposition of which was produced by Dryden at Westminster, when a Latin theme was set at that school thirty years after it had been set to Milton at St. Paul's.

There can be little doubt that there is an autobiographical strain in those lines of *Paradise Regained* which Cipriani inscribed under his engraving of Janssen's portrait of the poet as a boy—

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set
Serious to learn, and know, and thence to do
What might be public good : myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth
And righteous things."

Interesting though it is to trace in Milton the influence of "old Mr. Gill's" *Logonomia Anglia*, it is of more interest still to consider the manner in which the "auctors Christian" prescribed by Colet, and still in use in the school a hundred years after his death, can be seen to have moulded the poet's thoughts and diction.

Traces of the views expressed by Lactantius on the second Person of the Blessed Trinity are to be found in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*. The first lines of Proba's *Centones Virgiliani*, which runs—

"Nec libet Aonio de vertice ducere Musas,"

undoubtedly inspired the exordium to *Paradise Lost* which speaks of—

“ my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount.”

No instances of Milton's indebtedness to Sedulius and Juvencus, the next two authors recommended by Colet, have been pointed out.

The same cannot be said of Prudentius. It cannot be doubted that his *Hamartigenia; or, Origin of Sin*, which is said to contain the first description written in poetry of the Christian heaven and hell, and sets out in detail how the devil was a subordinate prince who had fallen through envy, gave Milton his first inspiration for Satan in *Paradise Lost*, while his *Psychomachia; or, War of the Virtues and Vices*, suggested to him the war in heaven in the same poem.

In Prudentius also may be seen the germ of Milton's hymn “On the Morning of Christ's Nativity,” curiously interwoven with learning from the *Bucolics* of Baptista Mantuanus, and in this last author may be seen some of the sources of the poet's inspiration from which he framed the pastoral setting of *Lycidas*.

Enough has been said to show the influence of his reading at St. Paul's upon the young poet. When he expressed the wish—

“ But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale,”

he was referring back to an experience, not of Cambridge, but of St. Paul's, where the cathedral cloisters almost adjoined the school. It has been suggested, with good reason, that the epithet “studious” may lead us to infer that at St. Paul's, as at Winchester in what is still called “cloister time,” during the heat of summer the boys deserted the school-room, closely crowded as it was with a

hundred and fifty boys, for the cool and spacious cloisters in which to learn their lessons.

Though the influence of the elder Gill on Milton was not slight, that of his son, who became surmaster in 1621, was far greater. In 1623, Milton's last year at school, occurred the "fatal vespers" in Blackfriars, the fall of a Catholic chapel in which more than a hundred worshippers were killed, a catastrophe which the more bigoted section of public opinion, inflamed against the "Spanish match," regarded as a judgment of God. This event inspired Gill to write verses "*In Ruinam Camerae Papisticae Londini*," in which he declared, "though our benignant Prince sees fit to let you meet for your idolatrous worship, God himself takes the cause in hand," a sentiment which must have approved itself to the Pauline who, as a Cambridge man, was to write of the religion which his father had abandoned as—

"what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace."

We have no definite evidence of the political proclivities of the younger Gill until a time later than that at which Milton left St. Paul's, but we can infer from what we know of his views at a later date that a sympathy existed between master and boy at this time, based on a hatred of the system of government followed under the direction of Buckingham and Laud.

Milton left St. Paul's to enter Christ's College, Cambridge, early in 1624. He did not go up to the University as a holder of an exhibition from the school.

The entry in the Christ's register runs as follows—

"*Johannes Milton Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in literarum sub Mag'ro Gill Gymnasii Paulini, praefecto; admissus est Pensionarius Minor Feb. 12. 1624.*"

Robert Pory, whose name comes next to that of Milton

of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, practised physic at Chester. While he was still in residence at Trinity, Milton addressed to him from Christ's the first of his elegies, beginning—

“Tandem, chare, tuae mihi pervenere tabellae,
Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas.”

Three years later Milton addressed the sixth of his Latin elegies to the young doctor, “ruri commorantem,” whom he calls “lepidum sodalem,” and whom he had described as—

“Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput.”

To a letter from Diodati, who in sending him some verses asked for some of Milton's in return, the poet answered protesting that his love was too great to be conveyed in metre. Two letters from Milton in Latin, written in September 1637, have been preserved, and show the close friendship which subsisted between the two, and in the British Museum are preserved two letters in Greek from Diodati to his friend.¹

Milton's Italian sonnet, beginning—

“Diodati (e te 'l dirò con maraviglia),”

was written in 1639, a year after Diodati's untimely death ; but the most striking testimony to Milton's affectionate regard for his school-fellow is to be found in his “Epitaphium Damonis,” in the introduction to which he describes him as “ingenio, doctrina, clarissimisque coeteris virtutibus, juvenis egregius,” a poem which, had it been written in English, would have been as well known as *Lycidas*, the equal of which it almost is in pathos and poetic expression.

The last of the associations which bind Milton to St. Paul's with closer links than those subsisting between any other great poet and his school, is to be found in his brother, Christopher Milton.

¹ Add. MSS. 5016, f. 64.

He was born in 1615, and, in consequence, we may presume that he entered St. Paul's just before his brother left school. He took the Royalist side in the Great Rebellion, and was fined £200 for serving as Commissioner of Sequestrations for the King. He was within the walls of Exeter during the siege of 1646. A barrister by profession, he was raised to the Exchequer Bench by James II, four days after being invested with the coif. In 1687 Sir Christopher Milton was transferred to the Common Pleas, of which he was made Chief Justice, being dispensed from taking the oath as he had returned to the Church of his fathers. Professor Masson pictures him as "a mild, gentlemanly Roman Catholic judge, of no particular ability," and there seems no ground for the statement in the registers of the school that he was dismissed by the King in 1688. He retired on a pension in that year.

Through the kindness of Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's College, there have been planted in the fore-court of the new school cuttings from the venerable mulberry-tree which is said to have been planted by Milton in the garden of Christ's.

CHAPTER XI

A TURBULENT HIGH MASTER

ALEXANDER GILL, JUNR., HIGH MASTER 1635-1640

ON the death of Alexander Gill the elder, his son and namesake was elected to succeed him. He was the first high master who was an Old Pauline. Although much of the history of the new high master's life ought, from a chronological point of view, to have been dealt with in the last chapter, I have deliberately avoided giving it more than a passing reference in order that the whole career of one of the most remarkable of school-masters may be read without a break.

Alexander Gill the younger was born, as we have seen, at Norwich in 1597. It may be assumed that he entered St. Paul's immediately on his father's appointment in 1608 ; it is, at any rate, certain that in 1612 he was one of the three exhibitioners sent from St. Paul's to the Universities. In the same year he matriculated from Trinity College, but some months later migrated to Wadham, a college which had just been founded, and in the following year he was appointed the first Bible clerk of that college. He had a great reputation as a writer of Greek and Latin verses. In 1621, two years after taking his M.A., he was appointed under usher to his father at St. Paul's, some years after John Milton had entered the school, and during the years in which the poet was at school, an intimacy, as we have

seen, between the master and the pupil sprang up, to which Milton's letters bear ample witness. Before becoming a master at St. Paul's, Gill was probably an usher to the celebrated Thomas Farnaby, to whom, in January 1621, he sent a copy of verses "cum utre vini pleno."

Having restored his name to the books of Trinity, he took his B.D. degree in 1627. That his career hitherto had not been undisturbed may be inferred from a coarse piece of verse in a duodecimo volume entitled "The Loves of Hero and Leander, and other choice pieces of Drollery got by heart and often repeated by divers witty Gentlemen and ladies that use to walke in the New Exchange and at their recreations in Hide Parke." This collection was first printed in 1651, and reappears in *The Rump*, published 1660, and in it occurs a piece of doggerel called "Gill upon Gill; or, Gill . . . uncased, unstriped, unbound." This is, in fact, the ballad by Dr. Triplett to which reference has already been made. In it the elder Gill is represented as about to administer punishment to his son and colleague—

"Sir,"¹ it begins, "did you me this epistle send
 Which is so vile, and lewdly penn'd,
 In which no line I can espy
 Of sense or true orthography.
 So slovenly it goes,
 In verse and Prose,
 For which I must pull down your hose.
 O² good Sir, then cry'd he
 In private let it be,
 And do not sawce me openly.
 Yes³ Sir I'll sawce you openly
 Before Sound⁴ and the Company,
 And that none at thee may take heart,
 Though thou art Batchelor of Art
 Though thou hast paid thy Fees
 For thy Degrees.

¹ Gill Senr., *loquitur*.

² Gill Junr., *loquitur*.

³ Gill Junr., *loquitur*.

⁴ The Surmaster.

First for the Theames which thou me sent
 Wherein much nonsense thou didst vent,
 And for that barbarous piece of Greeke
 For which in Garthen thou did'st seek.
 And for thy faults not few
 In tongue Hebrew,
 For which a Grove of Birch is due."

The father is represented by the writer as then turning from the particular cause of offence to the general record of unruliness of his son—

"Next for the offence which thou didst give
 When as in Trinity thou didst live,
 And for thy Blanketting
 And many such a thing
 For which thy name in Town doth ring,
 And none deserves so ill
 To heare as bad as Gill
 Thy name it is a proverb still
 Next, since thou a preacher were
 Thou vented hast such rascall Geere
 For which the Frenchmen all cry fie !
 To heare such Pulpit Ribauldrie."

In the first year of his undergraduate life, Gill had published a threnody on the death of Prince Henry of Wales, but his views with regard to the other members of the Royal family were destined later to involve him in serious trouble.

In the autumn of 1628, being on a visit to Oxford, after spending an evening drinking in the cellars of Trinity College he declared to his friends that in his opinion King Charles I, who had only been on the throne three years, was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop with an apron before him and say, "What lack ye ?" than to govern a kingdom,¹ and he went on to say that the Duke of Buckingham, whom Felton had murdered a few months before, had gone down to hell to meet King James there. That Felton's act

¹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*.

was very popular with a large section of the English people may be deduced from the shouts of "God bless thee, little David!" and "The Lord comfort thee!" amid which the assassin had passed on his way to the Tower. One Sir Richard Savage was committed for publicly saying that if Felton had not done the deed, he would have done it himself, and our school-master and Bachelor of Divinity, in the same spirit expressed his regret that Felton, whose health he drank, had "deprived him of the honour of doing that brave act."

William Chillingworth,¹ with whom, so Sir William Davenant, the Poet Laureate, told Aubrey, Gill had for some years "held weekly intelligence, wherein they used to nibble at State matters," had received a letter from Gill some time before, in which "he called King James and his sonne, the old foole and the young one." This letter and the occurrence in the college cellar were communicated to Laud, who had just been appointed Bishop of London, and was in consequence Gill's Ordinary. The result was that during afternoon school on Friday, September 4, the boys of St. Paul's saw two poursuivants come and take their schoolmaster out of the school to be examined by the Bishop of London. The upshot was that he was committed to the Gatehouse and kept so close prisoner that neither his father nor his mother, nor any of his friends were allowed to see him.

In his examination² on the following day in the Star Chamber, before Laud and Heath, the Attorney-General, Gill pleaded guilty to the allegations. The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University was ordered to search the rooms of William Pickering, a friend of the accused, and found in his study and in the pockets of his clothes divers libels and letters,

¹ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, 1813, vol. ii. p. 285.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1628-29, 3252, 3192.

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¹ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, 1813, vol. ii. p. 285.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1628-29, 3252, 3192.

written by Gill, some dated 1626, which contained reflections on Buckingham. Among these were a set of verses which are extant,¹ in which his criticisms were directed, not at the sovereign but at his ministers—

“And now just God, I humbly pray,
 That thou wilt take that slime away
 That keeps my sovereign's eyes from viewing
 The things that will be our undoing.
 Then let him *hear* good God the sounds,
 As well of men, as of his hounds.
 Give him a *taste*, and timely too
 Of what his subjects undergo,
 Give him a *feeling* of their woes
 And then, no doubt his royal nose
 Will quickly *smell* those rascals' savours
 Whose blacky deeds eclipse his favours
 Though found and scourged for their offences,
 Heaven bless my king and all his senses.”

The result of this domiciliary search was that Pickering was examined by the Attorney-General, and in the records of the examination it is interesting to see, in the first place, how Pickering took care to safeguard himself in the matter, and secondly how he endeavoured to expose Chillingworth, whom he had learnt that Diodati, another of Gill's friends, suspected of being the informer, and of having played the part of an *agent provocateur*.

“Alexander Gill,” said Pickering,² “was in his company in the cellar of his college, and some speeches passing about the Duke, Mr. Chillingworth asked Gill what he thought of King James. Gill answered that he and the Duke were together, and said if there were a Hell and a Devil surely the Duke was there. Being rebuked he replied, ‘Where can he be else?’ He began a health to Felton, and divers of the company including the examinant refusing, Gill said, ‘What, is Pick. a Dukist too?’ Gill used these

¹ Cal. S. P., Dom., vol. cxi. p. 240, No. 51, July 1628.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., vol. cxvii., Sept. 26, 1628.

words in a mad brain railing humour. He was not absolutely drunk, but he was far from sober. Gill and others were at a tavern two days before and then a health was drunk to Felton."

Sentence on Gill was pronounced in the Star Chamber in November, and was to the effect that he should be degraded from his ministry and degrees, should lose his two ears, one in Oxford and the other in London, and should be fined £2000, a sum which in view of his income he could not possibly have paid, so that it was equivalent to imprisonment for life. The prisoner, however, had friends at Court, so that, according to Aubrey,¹ "by the eloquent intercession and advocation of Edward, Earle of Dorset, together with the teares of the poore old Doctor, his father, and supplication on his knees to his Majestie the terrible storme which pointed towards him was blowne over. I am sorry," the same writer sententiously adds, "that so great a witt should have such a naeve."

Laud having consented to forego the corporal punishment and mitigate the fine, "for his coats sake and love to his father," seconded his petition to the Sovereign, so that in two years, on November 30, 1630, a free pardon under the sign manual was granted by Charles I.²

The Star Chamber proceedings resulted, of course, in his dismissal from the post of under usher, in which his brother George succeeded him, but after he had been pardoned he received in 1631 a gratuity from the Mercers of £5, and in 1633 and 1634 of £10. According to his own statement he again became an usher in the school of Thomas Farnaby in Cripplegate, but he cannot have remained there long, and in view of the fact that his salary as under usher had been only £17 6s. 8d. it is difficult to

¹ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, ii. 285.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1629-31, vol. clxxv. p. 393.

believe that the sums paid to him by the Mercers in 1633 and 1634 were gratuitous donations. The elder Gill, who was in his seventy-first year in 1635, described his work on *The Sacred Philosophie of the Holie Scripture*, which appeared in that year, as "the legacie of a dying man," and it is most probable that the son, for the last few years of his father's life, assisted him in an informal capacity in the discharge of his duties.

That his *lèse majesté* was not forgotten is shown by a stanza in the verses which have already been quoted, which runs—

"But now remaines the vilest thing
Thy ale-house barking 'gainst the K(ing)
And all his brave and noble Peeres
For which thou venturedst for thy eares,
And if thou hadst thy right
Cut off they had been quite
And thou hast been a rogue in sight."

After his pardon, however, Gill tried to retrieve his reputation and curry favour with the Court by publishing in 1632 a little volume of collected Latin verse, entitled—*πάρεργα sive Politici Conatus*, containing a fulsome dedication to the King and a profoundly respectful poem to Laud, and in addition he wrote much verse to other Royal and noble personages, as well as odes on the successes of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. It is curious that Milton's friendship bore the strain of his loyalist effusions.

That his efforts were successful in making him a *persona grata* at Court the petition which he addressed to the King in 1639–40, which I shall have occasion to quote later, seems certainly to suggest. This much, however, is certain, that on November 18, 1635, on the very day following the death of his father, he was elected to succeed him as high master, and the haste with which the vacancy was in this way filled is certainly a significant incident in a strange career.

The first few lines of one of Gill's poems deserve quotation, since they were addressed to Penelope, the daughter of Viscount Campden, to whose husband, Edward Lord Noel, Lord Campden's patent of nobility gave a special remainder.¹

On Mistress Penelope Nowell, daughter of the Lord
Viscount Campden.

"How fast my greues come on, how thick a shoole
Of sorrows rush upon this frighted soule.
Was't not enough my deare Amintas late
Was taken from me by to early fate?
Was't not enoughe that on braue Sweden's horse
My Muse astonisht pinned her mournefull verse;
Butt thou, blest saint, before with carefull heede
My wounds were healed, makest them afresh to bleed,
And in my sorrows claiimes as large a share
As thy rare beauty and thy vertues were."

This lady's son, Baptist Noel, prefixed a stanza of verses to the volume of poetry issued by Gill in 1632, which contained many Latin poems to members of the Campden family, and to which were also prefixed verses by Sir John Stonhouse and Thomas May, an unsuccessful candidate for the post of Poet Laureate on the death of Ben Jonson in 1637.

Six months after the election of the younger Gill to the high mastership, on May 17, 1636, Archbishop Laud held a visitation of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, and issued the following order—

"Item, that those officers of the Company of Mercers who for the time being claime and enjoy the government of the free School commonly called Paul's Schoole doe at some certaine time and place by you the Deane and twoe other of your Prebendaries Residentiaries appointed shew to you by what right the government of the said schoole is invested in them and render us an accompt of what you find."

¹ Wood, *Ath.*, iii. 43.

It is a curious fact that Archbishop Laud, in his defence, did not cite, in addition to Chapter lxxvii of the Canons of 1603, the Act of Parliament of 1581, 23 Elizabeth, cap. 1, sec. 6, which also required that a school-master should be licensed by the Ordinary. The principle was re-enacted in later statutes, namely, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and the Schism Act, passed by Bolingbroke under Swift's advice in 1714; and it was not till four years later that, by 5 George I, c. 4, the claim to ecclesiastical control over all education was withdrawn.

One of the most distinguished of Gill's pupils was Thankful Owen, who from the fact that he was the son of a gentleman at Taplow, appears to have been a boarder at St. Paul's. He was a Fellow of Lincoln and held a Pauline exhibition for thirteen years, from 1637 till 1650. In that year he was proctor and was intruded President of St. John's College by the Parliamentary visitors, and became known as the most important and active Independent divine in the university. "The peculiar purity of his Latin style" may well be traced to his education under Gill.

In 1660 he was ejected from the presidency of the college, and for the remaining twenty-one years of his life was a well-known supporter of the Independent cause.

The post of proctor which Owen resigned to become head of a House was filled by another Old Pauline, Samuel Lee by name, who was appointed by dispensation of the Parliamentary visitors, although he was not of sufficient standing as a Master of Arts, even though they had given him that degree a year after he entered. Being Fellow of Wadham, and a staunch Nonconformist, Cromwell gave him the living of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and in 1650 he was made a Fellow of All Souls'. In 1686 he went to America and became a pastor in Rhode Island. It was said of him

that "hardly ever a more universally learned man trod the American strand." On his return to Europe, in 1691, he was captured by a French privateer, and died at St. Malo.

William Thomas, the third of Gill's pupils who is known to have gained a fellowship, was sub-dean of Wadham in 1647, was expelled as a Loyalist in the following year by the Parliamentary visitors, but it is curious to note that his Pauline Exhibition, which was granted in 1639, was paid until the year 1652.

Among Gill's pupils at Cambridge the more distinguished include Thomas Prujean, the son of Sir Francis Prujean, President of the College of Physicians, who became himself a Fellow of that body, and Thomas Smith, University Librarian, who translated Dean Colet's Sermon before Convocation, and was the author of a life of Colet translated from Erasmus' account of him, in his letter to Justus Jonas. Four of the pupils of this high master were elected to the Campden Exhibitions to Trinity, Cambridge, the first nominations to which, as we have seen, were made in the last year of his father's tenure of office. Of these four exhibitors three were elected in 1635, and the fourth in 1639, the latter being the last elected for fifteen years. None of these have been traced although their names are known, but it is of interest to note that two of them received grants of money from the Mercers, possibly for the purpose of incepting in arts, five or six years after being elected to the exhibitions.

The names of only two "poor scholars" under Gill are known. William Hippesley preceded John Bennett, the boy for maltreating whom Gill was "displaced." All that is known concerning the former is that in addition to the Pauline Exhibition which he held, he received grants for the purchase of books on two occasions, amounting in all to

CHAPTER XII

PURITAN INFLUENCES AT ST. PAUL'S

JOHN LANGLEY, HIGH MASTER 1640-1657

ALEXANDER GILL was "displaced," as the school records express it, at the beginning of the year 1639-40. On January 7 in that year the Court of the Mercers was summoned to elect his successor. The candidates for the vacancy were three in number, Langley, Lloyd and Minors. Four examiners, called in the accounts "Opposers," were appointed to try them. These triers were Dr. Bromrick, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Launce and Mr. Barnaby, each of whom received a fee of forty shillings for his pains. The best known of these Opposers was Edmund Calamy, who had in the preceding year become incumbent of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, on his resignation of a lectureship at Bury, where he was known as a Calvinist, owing to the insistence by the Bishop on the observance of Church ceremonies, while three years later he attended the Westminster Assembly as a Presbyterian, and was spoken of as a probable Provost of Eton before 1660. These facts, and the religious views of Langley, the selected candidate, who was well known as a Puritan, show very clearly the political complexion of the Mercers' Company at the beginning of the year in which the Long Parliament was destined to meet, and which they were in a position to make the prevailing tone at St. Paul's. The disappointed candidates were con-

soled with a gift of £4 apiece, a precedent established on this occasion, which the Mercers do not appear to have followed at subsequent elections.

The fact that Gill received a few votes at this election shows that there was a section of the Mercers' Company anxious to reinstate him, and the circumstance that he is expressed to have received "some" votes, while they obviously were a minority of the total votes cast in the contest, show that the Mercers did not delegate their elective functions to the four men from outside their own body whom they had consulted, but that they merely called in expert scholars to assist them in their choice, just as sixty years before, when Harrison was elected, they secured the advice of Dean Nowell and other learned men "for the trial of the sufficiency of the candidates."

John Langley was born near Banbury, in the neighbourhood of Oxford. It is from the statutes of Banbury Grammar School that Colet is traditionally supposed to have drawn the inspiration of his more famous code, and it would be interesting to prove conclusively that Langley just a century later was educated at that school, but the most that can be said in view of the absence of any evidence whatever as to his place of education is that it is not remotely improbable that he was educated at the school nearest to the place of his birth. The first information we have concerning him is that he signed the Articles, and performed the other formalities for admission at Oxford in 1613, so that we may assume that he was born some time in the last decade of the sixteenth century, probably in 1595 or 1596.

He graduated from Magdalen Hall in 1616, and proceeded to his M.A. degree three years later. In March 1617-18, he was appointed, at what must have been an exceptionally early age, to the head mastership of Gloucester Grammar School, a post which, according to a Chapter

being subjected, it may be safely assumed, to the last alteration which the original buildings of the founder were to undergo before they perished in the Great Fire a little more than twenty years later.

The receipts from the Campden Exhibition Fund were almost entirely suspended during Langley's high mastership, a reason being no doubt to be found in the difficulty of collecting tithe during the Civil War in so distant a county as Northumberland.

The annual grant of money for prizes, which had begun, as we have seen, in Mulcaster's time, and which had remained fixed at twenty shillings a year since 1602, was discontinued in the first year of Langley's high mastership, but a far more serious step, due no doubt to the Civil War, was the discontinuance of all the exhibitions by which boys were enabled to go to the Universities. Those charged on the Coletine estate were suspended for the three years 1644–1646, but the Campden Exhibitions were not awarded from the date of the younger Gill's dismissal until 1654, three years before Langley was succeeded by Cromleholme. Although five exhibitions on Lord Campden's foundation were awarded in the year 1654, no more awards of these exhibitions were made until 1659, two years after Cromleholme's election to the high mastership.

Not merely were no new Pauline exhibitioners elected from 1643 to 1646, but holders of exhibitions elected in years preceding 1643 failed to receive their annual grants from the school estates. According to the Acts of Court of the Mercers, on February 7, 1643, the Court of Assistants postponed the question of exhibitions until a day "when it shall please God the time be more settled." Few payments were made in 1644, none in 1645, and in 1646 again only a few were paid, but in this year four of Gill's pupils who had been elected to exhibitions in 1639 or 1640 received

"gratuities" of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* in place of the full payment of £10.

No less than sixteen of Langley's pupils are known to have petitioned for exhibitions in the twelve years from 1642 to 1654, and to have been refused owing to lack of funds; a few of these received "grants" or "gratuities" which differed from the exhibitions in that they were single payments, which did not pledge the Mercers' Company to the same extent as would a promise to pay a regular and fixed annuity.

It is a curious fact that in spite of the circumstances which have been dealt with, by which during the years of the Civil War, from 1644 to 1646, no appointments were made to exhibitions, the total number of boys who received exhibitions during the seventeen years of Langley's high mastership shows a marked increase on the numbers elected under his predecessors. In addition to five Campden exhibitors, no less than forty-six boys were assisted at the Universities out of the Coletine foundation, so that if one omits in the reckoning the two years in which the Mercers' Company was forced to recoup itself for the exactions of Parliament, an average of between three and four exhibitors was sent up every year from St. Paul's to the Universities.

The total entry at Cambridge in 1643 was only forty-five and at Oxford fifty-one, but three years later the Oxford matriculations had dropped to two. In all, more than eighty of Langley's pupils are known to have gone to Oxford and Cambridge. Only a quarter of these, as might be expected in the case of the pupils of a Puritan schoolmaster, went to Oxford. Twelve of his pupils are known to have gained fellowships at Cambridge, and eleven others at Oxford, but of these five were M.A.s who had migrated from Cambridge, and were intruded by the Parliamentary visitors.

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The annual grant of money for prizes, which had begun, as we have seen, in Mulcaster's time, and which had remained fixed at twenty shillings a year since 1602, was discontinued in the first year of Langley's high mastership, but a far more serious step, due no doubt to the Civil War, was the discontinuance of all the exhibitions by which boys were enabled to go to the Universities. Those charged on the Coletine estate were suspended for the three years 1644–1646, but the Campden Exhibitions were not awarded from the date of the younger Gill's dismissal until 1654, three years before Langley was succeeded by Cromleholme. Although five exhibitions on Lord Campden's foundation were awarded in the year 1654, no more awards of these exhibitions were made until 1659, two years after Cromleholme's election to the high mastership.

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"gratuities" of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* in place of the full payment of £10.

No less than sixteen of Langley's pupils are known to have petitioned for exhibitions in the twelve years from 1642 to 1654, and to have been refused owing to lack of funds; a few of these received "grants" or "gratuities" which differed from the exhibitions in that they were single payments, which did not pledge the Mercers' Company to the same extent as would a promise to pay a regular and fixed annuity.

It is a curious fact that in spite of the circumstances which have been dealt with, by which during the years of the Civil War, from 1644 to 1646, no appointments were made to exhibitions, the total number of boys who received exhibitions during the seventeen years of Langley's high mastership shows a marked increase on the numbers elected under his predecessors. In addition to five Campden exhibitors, no less than forty-six boys were assisted at the Universities out of the Coletine foundation, so that if one omits in the reckoning the two years in which the Mercers' Company was forced to recoup itself for the exactions of Parliament, an average of between three and four exhibitors was sent up every year from St. Paul's to the Universities.

The total entry at Cambridge in 1643 was only forty-five and at Oxford fifty-one, but three years later the Oxford matriculations had dropped to two. In all, more than eighty of Langley's pupils are known to have gone to Oxford and Cambridge. Only a quarter of these, as might be expected in the case of the pupils of a Puritan schoolmaster, went to Oxford. Twelve of his pupils are known to have gained fellowships at Cambridge, and eleven others at Oxford, but of these five were M.A.s who had migrated from Cambridge, and were intruded by the Parliamentary visitors.

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At least five of Langley's pupils at St. Paul's entered at the Universities as fellow-commoners, or gentlemen commoners ; four of these were the sons of baronets, but the fifth appears to have been merely the son of a wealthy citizen.

A fairly complete list of the "poor scholars" under Langley has been preserved. From this it appears that the post was held in most cases for only one year, although one boy held it for four years and one for two years. Ten names in all have been preserved, covering seventeen years. Just one-half proceeded to the Universities, in all cases save one with exhibitions. The parentage of only three out of the ten is known. One was the son of a carrier of London ; two were the sons of country parsons, and of these one succeeded in becoming a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

One form of public recognition which Langley obtained is to be seen in a Parliamentary Order of June 29, 1643, by which, pursuant to the Ordinance of the Long Parliament which inspired Milton's *Areopagitica*, and which had been passed in that year, his scholastic attainments procured for him the appointment as one of the licensers or censors of the press for "books of philosophy, history, poetry, morality, and arts ;" but it appears from a petition presented on December 20, 1648, by the printers and stationers of London, that he was so much engrossed in his work as high master that he had become remiss in the duties of censorship.¹

His Puritan proclivities are to be seen in the fact that he was sworn on January 12, 1644,² and on June 6 following appeared as witness before the Lords' Committee which had been appointed to take examinations in the cause of

¹ Historical MS. Commission, 7th Report, p. 67.

² Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Series, 1664, p. 4.



T. HILL pinx. 1732.]

[G. White sc.

GEORGE HOOPER, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH AND OF BATH AND WELLS

[To face p. 204]

Archbishop Laud, and before that body he deposed to sundry innovations introduced by Laud in the conduct of the cathedral services when he had been Dean of Gloucester and Langley had been master of the school and prebendary of the cathedral.

Samuel Knight, who entered at St. Paul's only thirty years after Langley's death, and whose words may therefore not unreasonably be said to embody a tradition which was still alive in the school, says that "he had a very awful presence and speech that struck a mighty respect and fear into his scholars, which however wore off after they were a little used to him ; and the management of himself towards them was such that they both loved and feared him." One incident in his career which has been preserved affords a tribute to the rigid sense of duty which inspired the high master, for, having been seized with an illness some time before he fell ill of the disease which proved fatal, "he was so fearful of any miscarriage in the duties of his place that he expressed a wish," so we are told, "to be buried at the school door in regard that he had in his ministrations there, come short of the duties which he owed the school."

That he underestimated his labours and the satisfactory way in which he filled his post may be inferred from the fact that Thomas Fuller, who sent his son John to be educated at St. Paul's under him, speaks of Langley in terms of the highest praise ; while Edmund Calamy, who, as we have seen, had some share in his election, vouched for his confidence in the high master by sending his son Edmund to school under him. Other distinguished men whom the fame of the high master induced to send their sons to St. Paul's include Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State ; Sir Robert Harley, M.P., the brother of the Earl of Oxford ; Edward Reynolds, Dean of Christ Church ; Anthony Tuckney, Master of Emanuel ; Henry Croke,

Canon of Lincoln and Gresham Professor of Rhetoric ; Sir John Pettus Governor of the Royal Mines ; Peter Pett, the Master Shipbuilder to the King and Naval Commander at Chatham ; and four baronets of more or less distinction. The fact that he was a distinguished antiquary no doubt accounts for the fact that Langley was known and beloved by Selden amongst other learned men, but one may well believe the statement of Anthony à Wood, "he had not much esteem for the orthodox clergy."

The greatest tribute, however, that was ever paid to Langley is to be found in the fact that the Mercers adopted his recommendation on his deathbed of Cromleholme, a former surmaster, as being the best possible successor that could be found to fill his place at St. Paul's.

He died unmarried on September 13, 1657. Richard Smyth, in his Obituary, notes "Mr. Langley, the amiable school-master of Pauls, died." All the scholars attended his funeral, wearing white gloves, and walking before the corpse (hung with verses instead of escutcheons) from the school through Cheapside, to the Mercers' Chapel. John Strype himself records that as a boy at St. Paul's he walked in this funeral procession.

Here Edward Reynolds, who has been already referred to as the father of one of Langley's pupils, pronounced a warm eulogy of the late high master's learning and character in a sermon, subsequently printed, "On the Uses of Human Learning," which in the pedantic style of the day he dedicated on publication to Sir Henry Yelverton, a former pupil at St. Paul's of John Langley, "to whose care your father trusted the two props of his family, yourself and your most hopeful brother, whom God took from that school to a celestial academy." With regard to the sermon itself, even when one discounts the panegyrics of such effusions, it will be recognized that Langley must have been a man of

some note in his day for it to have been possible to say of him that "he was an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer and artist, as also a most judicious divine and a great antiquary. Pausanias was not more learned in the description of Greece than he of England, while of him it was said also 'doctum in hoc uno crederes quodcumque diceret.'"

Thomas Fuller, who sent his son to be educated by Langley, speaks in his *Church History* of "Paul's School flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr. John Langly, the able and religious Schoolmaster thereof." The fact that Langley was a distinguished antiquary, as well as an excellent theologian of the Puritan stamp, must have caused him to appeal with especial force to the author of the *Worthies of England*.

The translation of Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus rerum*, published in 1663, which bears on the title-page John Langley's name, is in fact nothing more than a reprint of the work of Thomas Langley, canon of Winchester, which was made in 1546, and which was, no doubt, the work of a relation of the high master.¹

John Langley was the first high master to exercise a responsibility placed upon him and his successors in 1656. In that year Abraham Colfe, Vicar of Lewisham, bequeathed part of his property to the Leathersellers' Company, in trust for the foundation of Blackheath Grammar School, and the testator provided that the master of the school should be examined by the head masters of St. Paul's, Westminster, and Merchant Taylors' Schools.

Langley's colleagues in the first election were Richard Busby of Westminster, and William Dugard of Merchant Taylors'.

That Langley, like Gill, taught Hebrew at St. Paul's, is

¹ *Lords' Journl.*, vi. 377; *Com. Journl.*, iii. 138.

expresses the hope that he will have "as relation, so able and honest, and so old an acquaintance as Mr. Cumberland," and when in fact his sister fell in love with a man who is damned with faint praise as "a plain young man, handsome enough for her, one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that I think will please me well enough," the whole topic is summed up by the diarist in the words, "I shall, I see, have no pleasure nor content in him, as if he had been a man of reading and parts like Cumberland."

His friend's judgment of Cumberland's ability was not exaggerated. In 1691 he became Bishop of Peterborough, where he remained till his death at the age of eighty-six, in 1718. A pleasant tribute, in the light of the quotations which have been made, is to be found in the fact that he dedicated his *Essay towards the Recovery of Jewish Weights and Measures* to Samuel Pepys.

Although there are constant references in the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys to St. Paul's and to his school-fellows, there is nothing to show for how many years he was in the school.

Pepys, who was born in 1632, was recommended for a Robinson Exhibition of the Mercers' Company in 1650, an incident to which he refers in his *Diary* many years later—

"To Mercers' Hall, where we met with the King's Council for trade. It pleased me much now to come in this condition to this place, where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in St. Paul's School."

Nothing is known concerning John Pepys, his father, a tailor of London. His cousin, and patron, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, was a follower of Cromwell who veered round to the Royalist side, and in this connection it is of interest to quote an entry in the

Diary written in the year of Charles' Restoration, at a time when the diarist was well started on his successful career as a loyal servant of the Crown. He relates how at dinner at Sir William Batten's he met "Mr. Christmas, my old schoolfellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said, the day the King was beheaded (that were I to preach upon him, my text should be—'The memory of the wicked shall rot'); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time."

Pepys' fame as a diarist has unduly overshadowed his very high reputation as a Government official. Soon after the Restoration he became Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and Clerk of the Privy Seal. In the following year he became a Younger Brother of Trinity House, and a member of the Tangier Commission, of which he became Treasurer three years later. His success at the Navy Office caused Monck to speak of him, in 1665, as "the right hand of the Navy." He defended himself and his colleagues on the Navy Board at the Bar of the House of Commons with so much skill in 1668, when popular feeling was aroused by the success of the Dutch in the Medway, that the Solicitor-General declared that he was the best speaker in England. Mr. George Montagu on the same occasion kissed him, and called him Cicero, while Sir William Coventry said that he ought to be Speaker of the House of Commons. His success led him to enter Parliament, where he represented Castle Rising, and afterwards Harwich, until the year 1688.

When the Duke of York resigned his offices in 1673, owing to the passing of the Test Act, the Admiralty was put in commission, and Pepys was made Secretary for the

affairs of the Navy, and is said in a contemporary account to have been the most useful minister who ever filled his position in England.

Sir Godfrey Kneller was engaged in painting the portrait of James II as a present from the King to his faithful servant, when the news of landing of William of Orange was brought. Pepys retired into private life after the Revolution, and survived till 1703.

In addition to his official position, Pepys was a member of Gresham College, and in 1664 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he became President in 1684. He was on terms of intimacy with the leading men of science, and virtuosi of his day. His *Diary*, which extends from 1660 to 1669, when it ceased owing to failing eyesight, is too well known to require more than mere mention in this place, apart from the light which it throws upon St. Paul's School during the early years of the reign of Charles II.

Robert Louis Stevenson, in his *Essays on Men and Books*, wrote a psychological study of Pepys as disclosed in the *Diary*. A distinguished physician a few years ago delivered a lecture on the medical history of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, gleaned from the same source. Sir Frederic Bridge has written a brochure on Pepys as a musician; and there is ample material in the *Diary* for a long article on Pepys as an Old Pauline.

Some account of his relations with Cromleholme, the high master who succeeded Langley, will be found in the next chapter, but it may be noted here that one of the first entries in the *Diary*, dated February 5, 1659-60, records how he went "To my father's, where I wrote some notes for my brother John to give to the Mercers, it being the day of their Apposition."

Four days later he states, "I rose early this morning

When an old school-fellow, Jack Cole by name, called on Pepys in 1664, according to the *Diary*, "I made him stay with me till 11 that night, talking of old school stories, and very pleasant ones, and truly I did find that we did spend our time and thoughts then otherwise than I think boys do now, and I think as well as, methinks, the best are now . . . and strange to see how we are all divided that were bred so long at school together, and what various fortunes we have run, some good, some bad."

Once again when Jack Cole called on him, he wrote, "I find him still of the old good-humour that we were of at school together, and I am very glad to see him."

On October 23, 1667, Pepys wrote of the civic elections in his *Diary*, "The other sheriff is Davis, the little fellow, my schoolfellow, the bookseller who was one of Audley's executors, and now become sheriff, which is a strange turn methinks." Thomas Davies, the subject of this entry, was the son of a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and was a well-known bookseller in London, who had been enriched by a legacy from a man of wealth. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1668 and 1669, and having been knighted in the year of his shrievalty, was Lord Mayor in 1667, the year in which the Monument was erected, a circumstance which accounts for the fact that the high master of St. Paul's was commissioned to write the inscription.

The opinions expressed by Pepys concerning his school-fellows were not always flattering. Reference is made to Robert Elborough, parson of St. Lawrence Pountney, in connection with a clergyman at whose importunity and impertinence the diarist was annoyed, and whom he describes as "such another as Elborough," while, when after the Apposition in 1662 he dined with his school-fellow, he

declared that he "found him as great a fool as ever he was, or worse."

On another occasion, however, he heard Elborough, whom he described as a simple rogue, preach "a good sermon, and in as right a parsonlike manner, and in good manner too, as I have heard anybody, and the church very full, which is a surprising consideration."

When on a visit to Cambridge Pepys voted for the election as taxor of another school-fellow, Bernard Skelton, who was afterwards Agent in Holland for James II, by whom he was used to inveigle Monmouth over to England.

The name of John Trevor comes next to that of Pepys in the school list. He was the son of Sir John Trevor, a Secretary of State, and was a cousin of George Jeffreys. He went to Merton as a gentleman commoner, and ten years after being called to the Bar was knighted. He was M.P. for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, and was elected Speaker in 1683, and again in 1690. Having held the post of Attorney-General he became Master of the Rolls in 1685, and retained that post with an interval of but four years until his death in 1717, when he was buried in the Rolls Chapel. The discovery by the House of Commons in 1695 that a large bribe had been paid to secure the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, a corrupt practice in which Trevor was implicated, resulted in the fact that after putting to the House the question of his own expulsion from the Chair as Speaker, Trevor was compelled to declare that "the Ayes have it."

The boy whose name comes next to that of Trevor in the registers, Henry Yelverton, went up to Oxford, like Trevor, as a gentleman commoner, and, like him, entered Parliament. He succeeded his father in the baronetcy in 1665, and died in 1670.

Another baronet's son educated by Langley was Hugh

Cholmeley, the son of the Governor of Scarborough, who went from St. Paul's to Trinity Hall, and became Governor of Tangier under Charles II. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1665, and died in 1688.

George Viner, the son of Sir Thomas Viner, Lord Mayor of London in 1654, succeeded his father in the title nine years after leaving St. Paul's.

George Croke, the son of a canon of Lichfield, who was also Gresham Professor of Rhetoric, has been identified as a Pauline from the occurrence of his name among the stewards of the feast in 1677. He was made a Fellow of All Souls in 1648 by the Parliamentary visitors, but was knighted at the Restoration. In 1664 he became High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and in 1676 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Among the pupils of Langley who distinguished themselves by their adherence to the Puritan cause, Richard Bures must be mentioned as a man who, after matriculating at Oxford as a Pauline Exhibitioner, was made a Fellow of Christ Church by the Parliamentary visitors, but was ejected from this as well as from his living in Kent by the Bartholomew Act in 1662, and suffered imprisonment for his opinions in 1677.¹

An Old Pauline at Emmanuel, Nathaniel Sterry by name, who had been refused an exhibition for want of funds in 1644, was intruded into a fellowship at Merton five years later, but, being more complaisant than Bures, died Dean of Bocking. His brother, Peter Sterry, was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. He was an intimate friend of Sir Henry Vane, and Richard Baxter punningly asked concerning them, "whether vanity and sterility had ever been more happily conjoined." The place of his education is not known. It is most probable that he, too, was educated by Langley.

¹ Burrows, 173-4; Calamy, ii. 337.



under Langley. He appears to have been at St. Paul's from 1647 to 1651, but to have accompanied the surmaster, Samuel Cromleholme, to Dorchester on the appointment of the latter to the head mastership of the grammar school in that town. Gower, who was the son of a Herefordshire clergyman, went up to St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow. He was elected Master of Jesus in 1679, but a few months later returned as master to his old college. He was also elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity. Two of the Fellows of St. John's being non-jurors, Gower refused to eject them on the issue of a peremptory mandamus against him in 1693. On being indicted at the Cambridge Assizes for his refusal to obey, the grand jury threw out the bill. He was a benefactor to St. John's College, and to St. Paul's and Dorchester Schools.

Richard Meggott, who went up to Cambridge a few years before Gower, became Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Winchester. He was a very celebrated preacher, and on one occasion Evelyn heard him deliver "an incomparable sermon."

Samuel Woodford, who was a Prebendary of Winchester while Meggott was Dean, became a well-known poet and divine. He was elected F.R.S. in 1664, and his paraphrase of the Psalms, written three years later, received high commendation from Richard Baxter.

Gabriel Towerson, who was elected to a fellowship at All Souls', in the year of the Restoration, became Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, and was a well-known divine.

The publication of the registers of Caius College, Cambridge, a few years ago, added seven names to the list of Langley's pupils, of whom the most interesting is that of Joseph Alston, who, after three years at St. Paul's, entered Caius as a fellow commoner, and subsequently gained a

scholarship. He succeeded his father as second baronet and inherited from him Bradwell Abbey, Buckinghamshire, of which county he was sheriff in 1670. Of the six other pupils of Langley who graduated at Caius, four became scholars.

An eccentric pupil of this high master, who earned some fame by a controversy on the subject of witchcraft with Meric Casaubon, was John Wagstaffe, whom Anthony à Wood describes as "a little crooked man of despicable appearance, who injured his health by continued bibbing of strong and high-tasted liquors, and died in a manner distracted." The fact that he looked like a little wizard caused his defence of witchcraft to create some amusement in Oxford. He was buried in the Guildhall chapel.

The earliest edition of the school *Preces* which is known to be extant was published during the high mastership of John Langley. J. W. Hewett, who compiled a collection of Latin prayers called *Sacra Academica* in 1865, described an edition of 1655 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which, however, can unfortunately no longer be found. In 1890 an edition of 1644 came into the market, and was purchased for the school library by Dr. Lupton, who issued a reprint of the 12mo volume, which bears stamped on its dark leather binding the letters S. W., which may well be the initials of Samuel Woodford, afterwards Prebendary of Winchester and Fellow of the Royal Society, who was a contemporary at St. Paul's with Samuel Pepys. The features of this edition, printed in the memorable year in which Prince Rupert was defeated at Marston Moor, and Archbishop Laud was attainted, are not without interest.

The prayer for Parliament contains a clause "qui Principis delectu . . . rempublicam administrant," from which, in the edition of 1655, it is significant to notice that the word

"Principis" is omitted. The prayer headed "Gratiarum actio pro scholae Paulinae Fundatore," which follows that for Parliament, does not contain the petition present in that of 1705, which we may suppose was suggested by the Great Fire, "ut eam a Calamitate omni tuearis." Finally, it is worth noting that the last prayer of all, headed "Si Quando Ibitur Lusum, vel citius intermittentur studia," contains a hint of obstreperous doings at play-time in the old churchyard, in the words which were later dropped out, "ne quicquam admittamus . . . quo vicini, spectatoresque nos insolentiae accusent."

St. Paul's enjoys the unique distinction of being the only public school in which the ancient Latin prayers are still in daily use. The school prayers printed by Mr. Hewett forty-four years ago were all described as "formerly in use," except those of St. Paul's, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Tonbridge, and Blundell's School, Tiverton.

At the last-named school the form, a very short one, was used only on Saturdays, while at Tonbridge it was used only at the annual visitation in July. More than twenty-five years ago, Merchant Taylors' discontinued its former practice of using Latin prayers.

The daily use of Latin at Westminster, it is true, does survive, but in a remarkably brief form, and is the same at the beginning and end of every school-time. It consists merely of a short collect of about four lines in addition to the Pater Noster, supplemented on half-holidays by another, which is almost equally short, in commemoration of benefactors.

There can be no doubt that St. Paul's, during the political and religious struggle of the seventeenth century, reflected more faithfully than any of the other public schools in London, the character of the city as a stronghold of the Puritan cause. Sixty-nine former King's scholars of

at Wandsworth.¹ The manner in which the other masters occupied their time in the interval which elapsed before the new school was completed is not known. Nathaniel Bull, the surmaster, who had been captain of Westminster and student of Christ Church, was an unsuccessful candidate for the head mastership of Leicester Grammar School in 1667.²

What happened to the boys of St. Paul's during the rebuilding after the fire is not known. Some probably followed Cromleholme to Wandsworth. One of them at least, Samuel Bradford by name, went to the Charterhouse. He cannot have stayed there long from the fact that he was fifteen years of age in 1666, and the circumstance that he sent his son to school at St. Paul's serves to indicate which of the two schools he looked upon with most favour.

Bradford, who was not an exhibitioner, became a Fellow of Bene't College, Cambridge, and rector of St. Mary-le-Bow. His Whig principles having secured for him the post of Chaplain in Ordinary first to William of Orange, and then to Queen Anne, he was in 1716 elected Master of Bene't, with which he held the Bishopric of Carlisle, and later that of Rochester. He became Dean of Westminster in 1723, and on the revival by George I, two years later, of the Order of the Bath, the original foundation of which dates from 1399, Bradford was appointed its first Dean, and for this reason the collar of the Bath surrounds his arms in the window of the school hall.

Another man of note, whose school-days at St. Paul's were cut short by the fire, was Edward Northeby, the son of a gentleman at Stepney, who went up to Oxford in 1668, but of whose education in the two preceding years nothing is known. He sat in the House of Commons as member for Tiverton in several Parliaments, and succeeded an Old

¹ Venn's *Caius*, p. 438.

² Hist. MSS. Comm., 8th Rep., p. 439.



Sir G. Kneller pinx.]

[S. Posselwhite sc.

JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, K.G.

[To face p. 226.

Pauline, Sir John Trevor, as Attorney-General in 1701, remaining in that post till 1707. Sir Edward Northeby was again senior law officer to the Crown from 1710 to 1718, and enjoyed the distinction of being Attorney-General during three reigns, those of William and Mary, Anne and George I.

Another Old Pauline who sat in the House of Commons with Northeby was George Doddington, M.P. for Bridgewater, who was Treasurer of the Navy, one of the Lords of the Admiralty under George I, and Lord Lieutenant for Somerset. He is best remembered, perhaps, from the fact that he was the father of George Bubb Doddington, Lord Melcombe.

Incomparably the most famous Pauline of this time was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1650 at Ashe in Devonshire, at the seat of Sir John Drake, his maternal grandfather, where his father, Sir Winston Churchill, lived in retirement during the Protectorate. After the Restoration Sir Winston returned to his Dorsetshire manor of Wintern, which is only nine miles from Dorchester, at the grammar school of which Cromleholme, as head master, had gained the reputation of being the most distinguished school-master in the west of England.

To this is no doubt due the fact that Sir Winston Churchill, who moved up to London with his family shortly after the Restoration, sent his son to be educated by Cromleholme at St. Paul's.

Readers of Thackeray will remember that after speaking of the fact that Jack Churchill was Frank Esmond's lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Foot-guards, the novelist goes on to say, "he and Churchill had been *condiscipuli* at St. Paul's School."

John Churchill is said to have attracted the attention of James, Duke of York, in 1662, at a time, no doubt, when

he was a school-boy at St. Paul's, and it is worth observing that the year 1665, in which he entered the household of the King's brother, was that in which, on Midsummer Day, the school was dismissed, owing to the prevalence of the plague in the city of London. There is every reason to believe that on the occasions on which Pepys was paying visits to the high master, the future commander-in-chief was, as a boy of thirteen or fourteen, receiving his education in the school. It seems probable that the future Duke of Marlborough was three or four years at St. Paul's.

The only reference to his school-days which is known to exist is to be found in the copy of Knight's *Life of Colet* belonging to George North, who was one of the head boys of the school when the school feast of 1724-5 was celebrated.¹ Opposite the name of *Vegetius De re militari*, which occurs among the list of books in the library at the time when Knight's *Colet* was published, North wrote, "From this very book John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, first learned the elements of the art of war ; as was told me, George North, on St. Paul's Day, 1724-5, by an old clergyman, who was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true. G. North."

It has been suggested that it is not very probable that a boy should have read a book as difficult as *Vegetius* at so early an age ; but the numerous prints which the volume contained may well have attracted his attention.

The earliest occasion on which the name of Marlborough is known to have been quoted as shedding distinction upon the school was in 1702, the year of the accession of Queen Anne, in which John Churchill, at that time Earl of Marlborough, became Ambassador Extraordinary at the

¹ *Pauline*, vol. iii. p. 473.

Hague, and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in Flanders.

Among the Apposition speeches of that year, preserved in the Hartshorne collection,¹ Christopher Hussey, who was one of the head boys in the school, and who nine years later was a candidate for the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics at Cambridge, in the course of his oration, after making mention of other Paulines, proceeds : " Hic Malburius denique ab ipso Caesare Gallos domare et a Gallorum Injuriis Vicinas Gentes tueri didicit. Hos Schola nostra olim nacta Alumnos jam Patronos suos habet, posthac semper, quod sperare licet, optare certe oportet, tales habitura."

In his sermon at the school feast in 1717-18, four years after Marlborough, on the accession of George I, had been re-instated as Captain-General and Master-General of Ordnance, Samuel Knight made reference to the distinguished Old Pauline. In his dedication of his *Life of Colet* to Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, the same writer stated, " We have lately lost two persons of the most exalted station that our school could glory in, viz. the Dukes of Marlborough and Manchester ; from whom as we have had many instances of favour, we might (if they had lived longer) have expected more."

Thomas Hough, who left the school in 1717, five years before Marlborough died, and preached at the school feast twelve years later, speaks of St. Paul's as having " supplied the camp with a general in whom courage, conduct and success conspired to render him the boast and glory of our age."

Nothing is known concerning " the instances of favour " shown by the Duke of Marlborough to his school. It may well be that the discovery of missing sermons at the school

¹ *Pauline*, vol. x., No. 55, p. 115.

feast will show that he served his turn as steward on some celebration of the Conversion of St. Paul, or that he was a benefactor to the library in which, while still a boy, he read *Vegetius*. His name alone, with that of Milton, is carved in letters of gold in the corridors of his school, and in the central window of the south side of the Great Hall stand side by side the arms of the two most famous alumni of St. Paul's.

Cromleholme educated the head of a house at Oxford in William Wyatt, who became a student of Christ Church, and afterwards public orator, and who was for twenty-two years principal of St. Mary Hall. He was a well-known Oriental scholar, described as "a man of excellent sense," and the reference to him in Hearne's *Diary* as "an honest man," indicates that he was, if not a Jacobite, at least a strong Tory.

Robert Nelson, one of the last of Cromleholme's pupils, died a year after Wyatt, who was one of the first boys educated by that high master. He shared the views of the Oxford Orientalist in more ways than one. He was born in 1656, and is said, after leaving St. Paul's, from which his mother took him "out of fondness," to have finished his education under a private tutor; but the fact that he spent some time on the Continent with Edmund Halley, the first of Gale's pupils, as a travelling companion, suggests that he remained in the school after the death of Cromleholme. He was a fellow-commoner of Trinity, Cambridge, and was elected Fellow of the Royal Society at the early age of twenty-four. He became well known as a Nonjuror, but conformed in 1709, after the death of Bishop Lloyd. His wife, Lady Theophila, the daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, became a Catholic under the influence of Bossuet, and died in that faith in spite of the endeavours of Tillotson, who was an intimate friend of her husband and died in his

arms. Nelson was a great promoter of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., and on his death left his whole estate in charitable bequests. Dr. Johnson, who said that he was the original of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*, spoke to Boswell of "the excellent Mr. Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*," which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, and is a most valuable help to devotion."

On the death in 1710 of William Lloyd, the last but one of the deprived bishops, Ken, the last survivor, expressed his desire that the schism should end, and Nelson accordingly received the sacrament from the Archbishop of York. In the same year he served with his school-fellow, Sir Edward Northey, on the commission appointed to build fifty new churches in London.

A sign of the popularity of the school with Dissenters, established by Langley, although it had grown very slight under Cromleholme, is to be found in the presence of two boys, John and Samuel Annesley—the latter of whom was "Poor Scholar"—who were the sons of Samuel Annesley, a well-known Nonconformist divine, whose sister became the mother of Samuel and Charles Wesley.

One interesting incident which illustrates Cromleholme's judgment of the abilities of his scholars is to be found in a MS. life of John Strype, by Dr. Samuel Knight, which is preserved among the Baumgartner papers in the University of Cambridge.

The ecclesiastical historian was the son of a Dutchman, who lived in the city of London. The boy was delicate, and was sent to a school in Hackney, from whence he was removed in 1657 to St. Paul's, where he remained more than four years. "By a trifling incident," his biographer goes on to say, "he was like to have been removed from hence also, when he had got to some height in the school,

Survey, of Cromleholme, "from whose care of my Education which I think myself bound publickly to acknowledge, I removed to the University of Cambridge, Anno 1661."

One relic of the first school, which is still preserved at St. Paul's, is described by Strype¹ as "a lively *effigies*, and of exquisite art, of the head of Dr. Colet, cut, as it seemed, either in stone or wood," and the same writer adds, "but this figure was destroyed with the school in the great fire; yet was afterwards found in the rubbish by a curious man and searcher into the City antiquities, who observed, and so told me, that it was cast and hollow, by a curious art now lost."

This "searcher into City antiquities" was John Bagford, who left an account of early grammars in use at St. Paul's and was a well-known bookseller in his day.

A worse fate, unfortunately, befell the treasure of which Pepys writes in his *Diary* on February 7, 1659-60. "Thence to School where he that made the speech for the Seventh Form in praise of the Founder did show a book which Mr. Crumlum had lately got, and which is believed to be of the Founders own writing."

A few of the books in the library appear to have survived the fire, notably volumes of *Nizolius*, *Budaeus*, and the *Uranologion*, which may have been borrowed by boys in the school at the time of the fire. The *Stephanus Thesaurus*, presented by Pepys, of which the diarist writes that at an Apposition "Dr. Crumlum did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the School," was not destroyed, but the fact that it has been re-bound has robbed it of "the strings & gold letters bought by the High Master," as Pepys records, out of "the 10s. remaining not laid out of the £5 I promised him for the School."

During the years immediately following the fire, the

¹ Strype's *Stow*, i. p. 164.

school accounts refer to the clearing away of rubbish. In the two following years the entries deal with the purchase of additional ground and tenements in Old Change, while the years 1668 to 1670 are occupied with statements dealing with the expense of rebuilding.

The inscription over the door of the second school recorded that in the latter year it was "feliciter restaurata post incendium," but, according to the Mercers' minutes, it was not until March 28, 1671, that it was ordered that the school should re-open the next week after Easter week.

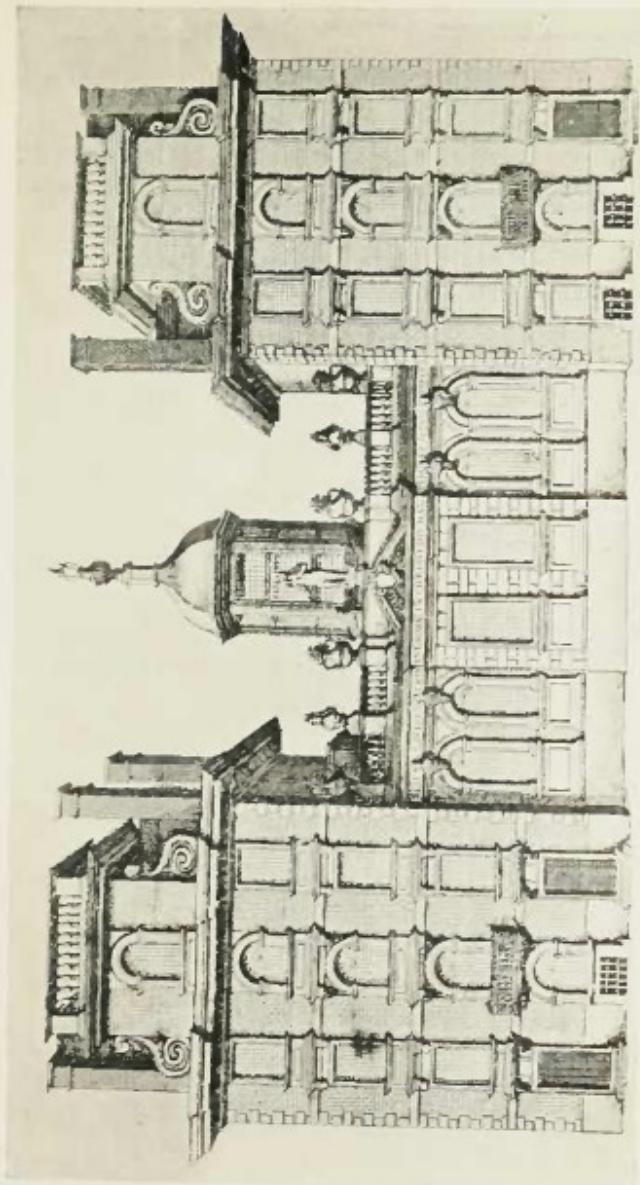
That the decision of the Mercers to rebuild on the old site was not arrived at without some hesitation is to be inferred from a passage in Pepys' *Diary*. "1667, 16th May. Sir John Frederick, and Sir Richard Ford did talke of St. Paul's School which they tell me must be taken away; and then I fear it will be long before another place such as they say is promised, is found: but they do say that the honour of their Company is concerned in it, and that it is a thing they are obliged to do."

The main alteration in the site of the new building was aimed at bringing the front of the school parallel with the eastern end of St. Paul's Churchyard, the line of frontage being advanced ten feet at the northern end, and set back to a slightly less extent at the southern end. In addition, two plots of land north and south of the small piece owned by the school in Old Change, were added to the original ground plan, thereby greatly increasing the accommodation at the back of the school, and changing the shape of the ground plan from a regular oblong 120 feet by 33 feet to an irregular quadrilateral 38 feet deep at the northern, and 27 feet deep at the southern, end.

John Strype, who, in his edition of Stow's *Survey*, devotes five folio pages to St. Paul's School, says, "From this School I was sent to Cambridge, having had my

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL 1670

H. Steller del.



education there by the good Providence of God, for near the space of six years."

It is this fact which makes his description of the buildings of the school of such value. Strype left St. Paul's in 1661, and in his edition of *Stow* he has left us an exact and detailed account of the first building as it appeared five years before its destruction in the Fire of London.

Elsewhere,¹ he speaks of the "beautifull rebuilding of the School," and says that it was "burnt down in the Common calamity by Fire, Anno 1666, but built up again much after the same Manner and Proportion as it was before, together with the Library, and an house added on to the South end thereof for the second Master ; whose Dwelling before, and from the first Founding of the School was in the old Change adjoining to the said School ; This House hath a very handsome Front, answerable to the high Master's House at the North end of the school, on which is engraved Aedes Praeceptoris Grammatices." The earliest engraving of the second building of the school is one of which two copies only are known to be extant, one at the British Museum and one at the Guildhall Library. It differs from all the other views of the school, of which the earliest, which is in the Pepysian Library, is that on the invitation to the school feast of 1703, in that over the school-room there is a louvre, and the first floor windows of the masters' houses have wrought-iron balconies. The engraving is said to be the work of Wenceslaus Hollar, or possibly of his pupil, Richard Gaywood. Tradition asserts that Sir Christopher Wren was the architect of the second school building, but it must be admitted that its style is more suggestive of Inigo Jones.

A description of this building, written exactly a hundred

¹ Strype's *Stow*, 1754, vol. i. p. 86.

years after its erection, speaks of it as¹ "a very beautiful, and at the same time very singular fabric. The central building is of stone, and is much lower than the wings. It has only one series of windows, which are large and raised a considerable height from the ground. The centre is adorned with rustic, and on the top is a well-proportioned pediment, on which is displayed a shield with the arms of the founder, on the apex is a figure designed to represent learning. Under this pediment are two square, and on each side two circular, windows crowned with busts, and the spaces between them are handsomely ornamented by work in relief, upon a level with the foot of the pediment, on either side of which are correspondently placed two larger busts, with radiated crowns, betwixt two flaming vases."

Other accounts speak of the "large and elegant apartments" of the high master, and of the fact that in the school-room, "Doce Disce aut Discede" was inscribed over the door, while above the bust of Colet, which surmounted the high master's chair, was written the inscription, "Intendas animum studiis et rebus honestis."²

It is a fact not generally known, that some of the oak panelling from the second building of the school is to be seen in Mickleham Church, Surrey. Mr. A. Gordon Pollock, O.P., the son and grandson of Old Paulines, tells me that when, in 1900, he was jotting down various items for the records of the parish of which he is a churchwarden, the old village carpenter told him of a tradition that certain panelling in the church was brought by Mr. Thomas Grissell, of Norbury Park, from some old school in London. As Mr. Grissell was an Old Pauline, having entered the school in 1812, Mr. Pollock made further inquiry from his

¹ H. Chamberlain, *Survey of London*, 1770.

² Brayley, *Beauties of England*, vol. x., 1810, p. 321.

son, and was told by Mr. Hartwell Grissell that his father purchased much of the wood of the library of the building of St. Paul's, which was erected in 1670 and destroyed in 1823, that some of the wood was used in doors, etc., in Norbury Park, and the panelling was placed in the side chapel on the north of the church, which is the Norbury Park pew.

An expert, who has seen these handsome panels, with bosses and conventional designs carved in high relief, has expressed to me the strong opinion that the carving appears to be of a much earlier date than 1670, probably of about 1590, and it is just possible that it may be a relic of the first school built by Colet, which escaped the Great Fire and was re-erected in the second school building.

According to Samuel Knight, who entered St. Paul's less than twenty years after the school was rebuilt, the Mercers' Company spent £6,000 on the building of the second school.

Cromleholme survived little more than a year after the rebuilding. He died on July 21, 1672, and was buried in the Lord Mayor's Chapel in the Guildhall. Dr. John Wells of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, preached his funeral sermon. Rings were distributed at the interment, having, according to Richard Smyth, "the posie, 'Redime Tempus,' engraved upon them."¹

"He was very happy," declares one of his contemporaries, "in sending out many excellent scholars from under his care," and Dr. Knight is well justified in his assertion, "I could enumerate many of this man's scholars who arrived at great eminency of one kind or other."

A more personal note is struck in a sermon at the school feast, preached by Benjamin Calamy, one of his pupils, a few years after his death, in which reference is made to "persons, well taught and bred, whose natures

¹ Camden Society, 1849.

have been refin'd and polish'd, and minds improved and cultivated and new moulded and fashioned, by the Care and Skill of those excellent persons to whose charge we were committed."

Mention of the school feast recalls the fact that the first of the anniversary meetings of Old Paulines was held on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, either in 1660 or 1661. Other schools soon followed the example of St. Paul's. The first Eton feast was held in 1681, the first Merchant Taylors' feast in 1700. In the last days of Charles II a meeting of Old Westminsters was projected, and Dr. South wrote a sermon, but the King's death stopped the gathering, and the plan was in abeyance until it was revived forty years later, in 1727. The Charterhouse feast was first held in 1755.

That Cromleholme taught at St. Paul's other Oriental languages than Hebrew is evident from the fact that Samuel Johnson is said to have acquired much perfection in Oriental languages at the school, and that in the MS. Life of John Strype, to which reference has been made in another connection, he is said to have made good progress in Hebrew and Syriac, "for which that school was famous in his time."

It is on record that "Cocker was an unruly usher of St. Paul's School, twice deposed for his extreme opinions, and twice restored for his marvellous talents of teaching." It thus appears that the well-known writing master and author of the famous arithmetic, whose name became, and has remained, proverbial for precision, taught during some part of his life in the school.

Edward Cocker, who introduced the present method of performing division, and whom Evelyn speaks of as "comparable to the Italians for his letters and flourishes," was born in 1631, and died in 1675. His active career accordingly coincided with the high masterships of Langley and

Cromleholme. He was employed in 1664 to engrave a sliding rule by Samuel Pepys, who notes in his *Diary*, "I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenious : and among other things, a great admirer and well read in the English poets, and undertakes to judge them all, and that not impertinently." No mention of any sort is made of the fact of his teaching at St. Paul's, which makes it practically certain that he did not teach there before 1650, the year in which Pepys left the school, and raises a very strong presumption that he had not been appointed at the date of the diarist's reference. We may safely assume, then, that he was appointed not by Langley, who died in 1657, but by Cromleholme, and if he continued to teach until the date of his death he must have served for two or three years under Gale.

It is significant of much in regard to the political views of those in authority at St. Paul's, that at the coronation of Charles II the boys of Christ's Hospital, and not those of St. Paul's, presented an address to the sovereign as he passed through St. Paul's Churchyard. Nevertheless, on the occasion of his public entry into London at his Restoration, a contemporary document relates how "at St Paul's School the ministers of London presented him with a Bible. He thanked them for it, and said that he would make that book the rule of his life and government, and he desired Dr. Reynolds to bring the book to him at Whitehall."¹

Another pupil of Cromleholme who, besides Bradford, became master of a Cambridge college was John Balderstone. He went up to Emmanuel in the year after Cromleholme's election, and must in consequence have been in the school under Langley, from whom he appears to have assimilated his political principles. In 1680 he was elected master of his college, and retained the post until his death, nearly

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App. 7, p. 25.

forty years later. In 1687, when Dr. Peachell was turned out of the vice-chancellorship for refusing the degree of Master of Arts to the Benedictine monk whom James II had armed with letters of recommendation, Balderstone was chosen to succeed him "as a man of much spirit," and "in his speech," continues Bishop Burnet, in his account of the affair, "he promised that during his magistracy neither religion nor the rights of the University should suffer by his means."¹

A less fortunate Pauline upholder of Protestantism, and opponent of the Tory doctrine of non-resistance was Samuel Johnson, whose views were very different from those of his great namesake. He was a poor scholar at St. Paul's, and was also "Library Keeper" there. After graduating at Trinity, where he was a Campden Exhibitioner, he became chaplain to Lord William Russell, and was sentenced to a fine and imprisonment for having written in defence of the latter's work, *Julian the Apostate*. From his prison he secretly issued *A humble and hearty address to all the Protestants in King James' Army*, for which he was sentenced, after being degraded from his clerical office, to stand in the pillory and be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. After the Revolution, however, his degradation was declared illegal, and he received £1,000 and a pension from William III.

He was abused under the name of Ben-Jochanan by Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel*, where he says—

"Let Hebron, nay, let Hell, produce a man
So made for mischief as Ben-Jochanan."

One of the editors of the poem wrote of Samuel Johnson that "of all the seditious writers here proscribed by Dryden, he was the man of greatest learning and best morals," while it is said in *Calamy's Puritans* that "he was

¹ Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Times*.

by many thought to have done more towards paving the way for King William's revolution than any man in England besides."

In 1686 Johnson was offered by the King the Deanery of Durham, but he refused it on the ground that any preferment other than a bishopric was less than his deserts.

Puritan influences notwithstanding, the reputation of St. Paul's as a pillar of the Establishment at this date may be inferred from the fact that John Eachard, in a tract on *The Grounds and Occasions of the contempt of the Clergy and Religion*, which was published in 1670, makes the following remark : " Not that it is necessary to believe that there never was a learned or useful person in the Church but such whose education had been at Westminster or St. Paul's.

One of the earliest of Cromleholme's pupils at St. Paul's was a Welsh boy, George Jeffreys by name, who had received his education up to the age of eleven, when he came to London, at Shrewsbury School. It is on record that while at St. Paul's, " he applied himself with considerable diligence to Greek and Latin," and although he was at Westminster under Busby for a few months before entering at Trinity, Cambridge, nevertheless, throughout his career he admitted that all his scholarship was due to Cromleholme's instruction. A story is related to the effect that when George Jeffreys as a schoolboy at St. Paul's saw the Lord Mayor's coach pass the school, he registered a vow that he would one day be the Lord Mayor's guest, and would die Lord Chancellor of England.

There can be no doubt whatever that the severity of Jeffreys when acting as president of the five judges appointed to try the rebels after Monmouth's defeat at Sedgmoor in 1685 has been exaggerated when it is compared with the conduct by other tribunals of political trials at the same date, and the hatred on the part of Whig historians of the

political tenets of his master has tended to obscure the remarkable abilities of a great lawyer. Mr. Speaker Onslow says that "he was a great Chancellor in the business of the Court, and was considered an able and upright judge in private causes." Roger North, who hated him, was constrained to admit that he possessed "extraordinary natural abilities," and that when he was "in temper," and the matters before him were indifferent, "he became the seat of justice better than any other he ever saw in his place"; while Evelyn, although he said that he was "of nature cruel, and a slave to the Court," praised him for his "undaunted and assured spirit."

Even those who are most severe in their condemnation of Jeffreys for his conduct of the "Bloody Assize," can scarcely deny to St. Paul's full justification for the fact that it has placed in its Great Hall the arms of a man, only sixteen years of whose life elapsed between his call to the Bar and his taking his seat upon the Woolsack. Two years after becoming a barrister Jeffreys was made Common Sergeant of the City of London. Six years later he was knighted, and in the following year, 1678, became Recorder of London. The two following years saw his assumption of the coif as Serjeant-at-Law, and his appointment as King's Serjeant and Chief Justice of Chester. In 1683 he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in the same year received a baronetcy, while two years later, in 1685, at the age of thirty-seven, he became Lord Chancellor, having been created Baron Jeffreys of Wem six months earlier. He retained the Lord Chancellorship for three years, but in December 1688, on James II's abdication, he attempted to escape from the country in the disguise of a sailor, but was recognized and arrested at Wapping, and died in the Tower in April 1689.

Christopher Hussey, whose Apposition Speech of 1702

has already been alluded to, inserted the following sentence¹ between the mention which he made of the Dukes of Manchester and of Marlborough : " Hic Graius a Consulibus Praetoribusque Romanis prudentiam illam accepit qua postea Indos nostros felicissime rexit." Knight's *Life of Colet* contains a list in the appendix headed, " Benefactores bibliothecae, plerique alumni scholae Paulinae et procuratores convivii publici." Among the names under the year 1674 appears " Radulph. Gray, arm. postea vero bar. Gray de Werk comes de Tankerville," and in the list for 1677 appears the name " Ralph Gray."² The three references have hitherto been taken to relate to one person : Ralph, fourth Lord Grey of Werke, Governor of the Barbadoes in 1698. There was no such person as Ralph, Earl of Tankerville, but the fact that the Governor of the Barbadoes succeeded his brother, the notorious Ford Gray, who held both the earldom and the barony, accounts for the mistake, for the earldom was only granted to the descendants of the latter, and became extinct on his death in 1701, while the barony, as has been said, passed to his brother. Now, the fourth Lord Grey died in 1706 at the age of forty-five, and therefore was aged only thirteen years in 1674, the date in which he has been supposed to have been Steward of the Feast. His father, however, also named Ralph Gray, was then entitled to be called " armiger," since it was not until the end of that year that he succeeded to the title of Baron Grey of Werke. He died a year later, in 1675. These facts, taken with the recurrence of the name of Ralph Gray in Knight's list for 1677, without any addition of titles, which the fourth Lord Grey did not inherit till 1701, make it highly probable that two persons are meant. If this is the case, the second Lord Grey, who was born in 1630, must have been a pupil of

¹ *Pauline*, No. 75, p. 81, June 1695.

² Knight, *Colet*. 1823, p. 376.

Langley, while the fourth Lord Grey was at St. Paul's under Cromleholme.

The fourth Lord Grey of Werke, who was Governor of the Barbadoes in 1698, had been an officer in the army, and attended William of Orange in most of his campaigns. Bishop Burnet says of him, "he is a sweet disposed gentleman, and joined King William at the Revolution, and is a zealous asserter of the liberties of the people—a thin, brown, handsome man, of middle stature." To which Swift appends the unkind note, "Had very little in him."

Seven Campden Exhibitions were awarded during the fifteen years of Cromleholme's high mastership, of these six were granted before the Great Fire. The Pauline Exhibitions were awarded with great regularity in the years from 1657 to 1665, more than thirty boys reaping the benefit of the foundation at the Universities. It was, no doubt, due to the loss occasioned by the fire, and the expense involved in rebuilding, that none of these exhibitions were again awarded until 1678, eight years after the school had been re-opened. In 1666-7 existing exhibitioners received only a quarter- or half-year's payment, and then the payments ceased till Lady Day 1670. In 1664 a new regulation was made with regard to candidates for exhibitions. It was resolved that boys must have been in the school at least four years before they could sue for exhibitions. One of the first to suffer from this rule was a boy who became a Fellow of Merton, and was known afterwards as Sir William Bernard, whom the high master in 1665 recommended for an exhibition, as "pauper, pius, et doctus." He was refused because he had not been four years in the school, but it was promised by the Court of Assistants that he should be "regarded with favour."

In spite of the fact that less than forty of Cromleholme's pupils received exhibitions at the Universities, at least sixty-

four are known to have proceeded to Oxford and Cambridge, less than a third of the total going to Oxford. About the same proportion is maintained in the number who obtained fellowships, three being elected to Oxford colleges, and seven to colleges at Cambridge. Three out of these ten Fellows became heads of Houses. The names of only seven "poor scholars" under Cromleholme have been preserved, each of these held the post for one year.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW SCHOOL BUILDING

THOMAS GALE, HIGH MASTER 1672-1697

WITHIN a fortnight of Cromleholme's funeral the Court of the Mercers' Company met to select his successor. Of the candidates for the post, and of the details of the election, nothing is known, save that the choice of the company fell upon Thomas Gale, who a few months before, and not, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, six years before, had been elected to the Regius Professorship of Greek in the University of Cambridge. This fact alone implies that he was an eminent scholar. It is a great tribute to the prestige which the school attained in the high mastership of Cromleholme that a man in such a position as that held by Gale should have become a candidate for the post when the vacancy occurred. One obvious explanation which has been put forward to account for Gale's application is that a desire on his part to marry, which was impossible while he was Regius Professor, was the cause, but the fact that his eldest son, Roger, was born in 1672, in the August of the year in which Thomas Gale was appointed to St. Paul's, disposes of this explanation, and renders it inadmissible.

The new high master was at this time about thirty-seven years of age, having been born at Scruton, in Yorkshire, in 1636, and being the only surviving son of Christopher Gale. He was educated at St. Peter's College, Westminster, under



S. Harding del.

THOMAS GALE, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AND
DEAN OF YORK

From a drawing in the Pepysian Collection

{To face p. 246.

Busby, the most famous, if not the greatest, of its head masters, and being admitted King's Scholar in 1655 he was elected a Westminster scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1659 and proceeded to his M.A. three years later. He was elected to a fellowship at Trinity, and his political views at this time may, perhaps, be deduced from the fact that he contributed verses to the *Luctus et Gratulatio* on the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, but three years later we find him contributing to the *Threni Cantabrigienses* on the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess of Orange, while the last of his efforts in this direction is to be found in the *Epicedia Cantabrigienses* in 1671.

In 1670 he was appointed Senior Taxor of the University of Cambridge, and he was admitted M.A. of Oxford on the day after the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre.

On the occasion of his appointment to St. Paul's James Duport, who had been one of his predecessors in the Regius Professorship of Greek, and who was at this date Master of Magdalene, addressed to him¹ a copy of verses which ran as follows—

“ Prudens Paulinae Moderator, Gale, juveniae,
Verum tum fausti nominis omen habe.
Tu pueris sis ergo φερώνιμος, aura secunda,
Doctrinae ad portum quos, Palinure, vehas.
Dat Deus ipse ἄνεμον πλησίστιον, ἵκμενον οὐρον
Et tibi, Paulinae et prospera vela rati.
Undique sic verum nomen, doctissime Gale,
Seu *Paulinurus* seu *Palinurus* eris.
Paulinum appellat *Palinurum* *Bibilitanus*
Quam belle quadrat nomen utrumque tibi !
Paulinae *Seneca* Praeceptor *Caesaris*, olim
Conjux : *Paulinae* tu *Seneca* esto tuae.”²

On Gale's appointment to the high mastership, John Mason, the chaplain, was the only remaining member of

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 537.

² Duport, *Musae Subsecivae*, 1676, p. 16.

the staff who had taught in the school before the fire, for Nathaniel Bull, Cromleholme's surmaster, had died some time before Midsummer 1672, and, as a result, the burden of restoring the school to its former position fell on the shoulders of the new high master alone, a process which cannot have proceeded very far in the few months which Cromleholme and Bull, both the victims of ill health, had spent in the new buildings. Of these Gale himself spoke¹ as the most sumptuous and beautiful of their kind which the city of London had to show, an opinion which was repeated almost verbatim by a preacher at the school feast in 1714.

There can be no doubt that the fame of St. Paul's at this time ranked very high. With the exception of the brief tenure of office, for less than six years, by the younger Gill, there had been a succession of high masters of great reputation for very nearly a hundred years. To succeed to Mulcaster, the elder Gill, Langley and Cromleholme was to inherit a tradition of great success, to which there can be little doubt Thomas Gale did more than justice.

That Gale admitted more than the statutory hundred and fifty and three boys is obvious from the fact that in February 1674, less than eighteen months after his appointment, it was resolved by the Court of the Mercers' Company, "that the school must not be oppressed with numbers." The possibility of such a thing having occurred so soon after Gale's election, and within four years of the rebuilding, after four years' complete cessation owing to the fire, is a great tribute to the success of the new high master.

That Gale received boarders in his house is almost certainly established by the fact that in 1676-7 the high master's house was enlarged, for in that year a sum of £110 was laid out in the purchase of the house in Old Change,

¹ Gale's dedication to *Rhetores Selecti*, Oxford, 1676.

which ran immediately behind the school, and this building was "laid into the high master's house." One thing at any rate is certain, and that is that the size of Gale's family made no such demand for increased accommodation, for it was not until August 1677 that his second child, his son Charles, was born.

Among the pupils of Langley and Cromleholme we have had occasion to notice the presence, in the sons, for example, of baronets and knights, of a certain number of boys of higher social status than those who for the most part, as far as one is aware, were in earlier days attracted by Dean Colet's foundation. This tendency was maintained under Gale, and, indeed, became more marked, for among the names of those educated under him at St. Paul's there occur in addition those of several sons of peers whom either the prestige of the school or the reputation of the high master attracted to its walls.

In 1656 the exhibition, which three years before had been awarded to one Thomas Colley of Peterhouse, was declared void, the reason given being that "he was the son of a very able and sufficient man." Whether the Mercers required some guarantee of poverty in all cases in those enjoying their exhibitions we do not know, nor do we know what was the standard which they insisted upon fixing in this connection. The parentage of many of the pupils of Gale's predecessors leaves no doubt that they too must have been the sons of very able and sufficient men, while some of the boys of aristocratic birth whom he educated can have stood in no need of the free education which St. Paul's School was able to provide.

We have seen, moreover, that the number of boys whom the school was statutorily enabled to educate free was exceeded, and therefore one may safely assume that the warning which, in March 1692, was given to Gale and the

plinth was to the effect that, "This pillar was set vp in perpetvall remembrance of that most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carryed on by ye treachery and malice of ye popish faction in ye beginning of September in ye year of our Lord 1666, in order to ye carrying on their horrid plott for extirpating ye protestant religion and old English liberty, and ye introducing popery and slavery."

This it was, as all the world knows, together with the ominous inscription on the north side, concluding, "sed furor papisticus qui tam dira patravit nondum extinguitur," which led Alexander Pope, as a Catholic, to write of—

"Where London's column pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies."

A very natural mistake has been made in supposing that the high master of St. Paul's was responsible for this offensive effusion of bigotry, but in point of fact neither of the above formed part of the original inscription written by Gale. They were added in 1681, when passions were inflamed by the perjuries of Titus Oates and Bedloe, by order of the Court of Aldermen, and Gale had no share in their composition. Their subsequent history is not without interest. They were obliterated in James II's reign, cut deeper than before in that of William III, and finally erased pursuant to an Act of Common Council in 1831, about a year after the members of the communion which they had so grossly slandered were admitted to the rights of citizenship by the Emancipation Act.

Gale continued as high master with increasing reputation until 1697, when he was preferred to the Deanery of York.

On leaving London he presented a Roman urn to Gresham College. To the new library at Trinity College, Cambridge, which Sir Christopher Wren had just completed, he made a present of a curious collection of Arabic MSS.

At York he was noted for his good government, and for his care in embellishing and restoring the cathedral, while in addition to this he was in a sense a benefactor to the deanery by obtaining in 1699 letters-patent settling the right of the Dean to be a Canon Residentiary. He survived his preferment only five years, and died in York in April 1692, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was buried in the middle of the choir of York Minster, and the inordinately long epitaph, which is carved on a black marble slab covering his remains, records among other things how among those who mourned him were—

"Apud Londinates
 Viri literatissimi in Rempublicam
 Et Patriae commodum
 Ex gymnasio Paulino emissi."

Samuel Knight, who was one of his pupils, records that "he was a learned divine, a great historian and antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of his age, and to whom I must ever own myself indebted on many accounts."

Shortly before his appointment to St. Paul's, Gale, as we have seen, was married. His wife was Barbara, daughter of Roger Pepys of Impington, at one time M.P. for Cambridge, and a cousin of Samuel Pepys. It must ever be subject for regret to Paulines that the sight of the Navy Secretary was such that he was compelled to abandon keeping a diary three years before his connection by marriage became high master of the school in which Pepys took so great an interest; since but for this we should have been given a lifelike picture of one who, as a scholar and a virtuoso, must have been a supremely congenial friend.

According to Anthony à Wood, Gale was "much celebrated for his admirable knowledge in the Greek tongue, and for his great labour and industry in publishing Greek authors;" while another writer says with truth that

"his excellent conduct and commendable industry in the school abundantly appear from the great number of persons eminently learned who were educated by him."¹

John Evelyn, whose friendship Gale enjoyed, had the highest opinion of the character and ability of the high master. He refers in his diary on one occasion to the fact that he met at supper at Sir Joseph Williamson's, "Dr. Gale, that learned schole master of St. Paul's"; while some years later he recounts that he "dined with Dr. Gale of St. Paul's School, who shewed me many passages out of some ancient Platonist manuscripts concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned man would publish if he was encouraged and eased of the burden of teaching."

Gale's reputation as a scholar was European, and he maintained a correspondence with some of the most noted men of learning on the Continent. Mabillon, the celebrated Benedictine antiquarian, presented him with an ancient MS. on the Archbishops of York; and Huet, the Bishop of Avranches and editor of the *Delphin Classics*, declared that Gale exceeded all men he ever knew both for modesty and versatility of learning.

Gale's books and MSS. descended to his eldest son, Roger, who carefully catalogued them and bequeathed them on his death to Trinity College, Cambridge, over the door in the library of which hang portraits of himself and his father, both of which had held fellowships on that foundation.

Some measure of Gale's reputation among his contemporaries may be obtained from the names of the distinguished men who committed their sons to his care. The list includes Robert, third Earl of Manchester; Charles, eighth Earl of Derby; Roger, second Earl of Orrery; James, third Earl of Northampton; Ralph, second Lord Grey of Werke;

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, iv. p. 537.

more true humility in his station." He was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, where there is a mural tablet in the chancel to his memory.

Edward Tenison, the nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Sir Thomas Browne, the author of *Religio Medici*, went up to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He became a Canon of Canterbury and chaplain to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who appointed him Bishop of Ossory. The terms of a legacy which he bequeathed to his old college were so onerous that one half of it was refused.

Edward Stillingfleet, who came of another episcopal family, offended his father, the Bishop of Worcester, by his Jacobite views. He became a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, F.R.S., and Gresham Professor of Physic. Samuel Knight, the son of a Dissenting freeman of the Mercers' Company, lived to become a Prebendary of Ely. He is best known for his lives of Colet and Erasmus, which were translated into German within ten years of the date of their publication, and for which he made use of the material collected by the research of White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough. He was one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries.

Samuel Rosewell, who was also the son of a Dissenter, is said to have graduated at a Scottish university. He wrote an account of his father's celebrated trial before Chief Justice Jeffreys, and was well known as a Presbyterian preacher.

Robert Paltock, whose name as a Pauline has been preserved owing to the fact that he was steward of the feast in 1699, was an attorney of Clement's Inn, whose fame has been said to rest enduringly on his original and fascinating romance entitled *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornishman*, a novel which earned the unstinted admiration of Coleridge, Southey, Walter Scott, and Lamb.



Sir G. Kneller pinx.]

J. Faber sc. 1734.

SPENCER COMPTON, FIRST EARL OF WILMINGTON, K.G.

[To face p. 258.

Two of Gale's pupils, both of whom were Commissioners of Customs, became Lord Mayors of London, Sir Charles Peers in 1716 and Sir Robert Baylis in 1728.

Of the noblemen's sons educated by Gale the most distinguished was Hon. Spencer Compton, the third son of the Earl of Northampton. It is not known where his brothers were educated, possibly they, too, were at St. Paul's, for the fact that his mother was the daughter of Baptist, third Viscount Campden, shows that a family connection may have been responsible for his education at St. Paul's. Spencer Compton deserted the Tory principles of his family and entered Parliament in 1695. He was chairman of the committee for settling the Act of Union with Scotland. He was one of the Managers in Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment in 1709, and became Speaker of the House of Commons in 1714, a post for which he was well fitted, as he was described by some one as "the most formal, solemn man in the world." He was made Knight of the Bath on the revival of the Order in 1725. George II, at his accession, wished him to be his chief minister, but Compton, who was created Baron Wilmington, became Lord Privy Seal, and later Lord President of the Council in Walpole's administration. In 1730 he was created Earl of Wilmington and three years later Knight of the Garter. That he was not a man of first-class ability is seen in a contemporary squib—

"Let Wilmington with grave contracted brow
Red tape and wisdom at the Council show
Sleep in the Senate, in the Council bow."

Early in 1742 he became First Lord of the Treasury, with Pulteney and Carteret as his Secretaries of State, but Wilmington, though nominally Prime Minister, was overshadowed by his colleagues. A lampoon of the time thus describes him—

"See yon old dull important Lord
 Who at the longed for money board
 Sits first, but does not lead ;
 His younger brethren all things make
 So that the Treasury's like a snake
 And the tail moves the head."

Wilmington, who died in 1743, was not without a sense of humour in spite of the suggestions of his critics. It was he who said concerning the nervously restless Duke of Newcastle, that he always lost half-an-hour every morning, which he spent the rest of the day in an endeavour to overtake.

Gale dedicated to Spencer Compton his *Opuscula*, as James Thomson dedicated to him *Winter*. Samuel Knight, in dedicating to him his *Life of Colet*, speaks of his "known affection to St. Paul's School," and it is known that in 1708 he was steward of the feast and benefactor to the library.

James Stanley was the second son of the eighth Earl of Derby. He served in Flanders under William of Orange, became Groom of the Bedchamber and was colonel of a regiment of foot until 1702, when he succeeded his brother as tenth Earl. He became Lord Lieutenant of North Wales, and later Vice-Admiral and Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. In 1707 he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and in 1715 Captain of Yeomen of the Guard. He died in 1736 without surviving issue.

In the course of Christopher Hussey's Apposition speech in 1702 occurs the following sentence, "Mancestrius noster quam in hoc loco a Cicerone ipso acceperat eloquentiam, Italis jam diu incognitam in Italiam denuo reportavit." The reference here is to Charles Montagu, the son of the Earl of Manchester, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. Charles Montagu's two elder brothers, Henry and Edward, who possibly were at St. Paul's, having died young, he was known at school by the courtesy title of Viscount Mandeville. He succeeded his father as fourth



Sir G. Kneller pinx.

[J. Faber sc. 1732.

CHARLES MONTAGU, FIRST DUKE OF MANCHESTER

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Earl of Manchester in 1682. In disgust at the revival of arbitrary rule he allied himself with the Prince of Orange, under whom he served at the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick. He acted as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard for some years, a short time before his school-fellow, the Earl of Derby, held that post. He was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of France, twice to the Republic of Venice, and again, to the Court of Vienna. He was Secretary of State for the Northern Department at the close of King William's reign, and became a Lord of the Bedchamber to George I, who created him Duke of Manchester. As a public man he was of the highest integrity, but was more painstaking than brilliant.

Charles Boyle, the son of the Earl of Orrery and nephew of Robert Boyle, the great physicist, went up from St. Paul's to Christ Church as a nobleman in 1690. While at Oxford he was involved in the celebrated literary controversy immortalized by Swift's *Battle of the Books*. Sir William Temple had made some rash statements concerning the antiquity of the *Letters of Phalaris*, which were attacked by a pupil of Richard Bentley. To cover Temple's defeat, the wits and scholars of Christ Church decided to publish a new edition of the Epistles, and the work was entrusted to Boyle, who, while not asserting that they were genuine, attacked Bentley for his rudeness in having withdrawn too abruptly a MS. belonging to the King's library which Boyle had borrowed. Bentley retaliated, Boyle, with the aid of Atterbury and Smallridge, published a rejoinder, and Bentley, returning to the charge, overwhelmed his opponents with the wealth of his scholarship, but, in spite of this, Garth complimented the Oxford man at the expense of his more distinguished adversary at Cambridge.

"So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."

Boyle, who succeeded his brother as fourth Earl in 1703, fought as a major-general at Malplaquet six years later. As Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Low Countries he took part in the negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Utrecht. He acted with his school-fellow, the Duke of Manchester, as Lord of the Bedchamber to George I, by whom the Order of the Thistle was conferred upon him. He was steward of the school feast in 1710-11. The astronomical instrument called the Orrery was named after him by its inventor, James Graham.

According to a near relative of Edmund Halley, who wrote in the *Biographica Britannica* in 1757, the astronomer, when at St. Paul's, "in a short time outstripped the rest of the boys, and became Captain of the School at the age of fifteen. He not only excelled in every branch of Classical learning, but was particularly taken notice of for the extraordinary advance he made at the same time in 'the Mathematicks,' insomuch that he seems not only to have acquired almost a masterly skill in both 'plain' and spherical Trigonometry, but to be well acquainted with the science of Navigation." From this explicit statement it appears certain that Halley was taught mathematics at St. Paul's. We know that the son of the Earl of Cork was taught mathematics at Eton in 1635, and that Busby introduced arithmetic and geometry into Westminster, while Charles II founded a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital.

Pepys, who left St. Paul's less than thirty years before Halley, when he was on the Tangier Commission, the accounts of which were in disorder, made it his first business to employ a mathematical tutor, who taught him the multiplication table, but it may well be that Gale's close connection with the scientific members of the Royal Society, and the fact that a mathematician so distinguished as Edward Cocker was a writing-master in the school, led to the introduction



Charles Boyle Earl of Orrery,
Baron Boyle of Marston in England,
& Baron Brewhill in Ireland, and
One of the Knights of the Most
Antient Order of the Thistle.

Baron Sir

(To face p. 262.)

of a branch of study which was not taught in a regular manner at St. Paul's until nearly a hundred and forty years after Gale's death.

Although Halley was captain of the school for two years, he proceeded to Oxford without an exhibition, and this fact, taken together with the wealth which he enjoyed, makes it very improbable that he was a free scholar at the school. He left Oxford without a degree, in order that he might sail to the Southern hemisphere to take astronomical observations. On his return he was admitted M.A. of Oxford by Royal mandate. In 1703 he became Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and by his calculations predicted the appearance of the comet which bears his name, and which was first seen nearly thirty years after his death. He became Astronomer-Royal in 1713, and in the same year produced at his own expense the *Principia* of Newton, his lifelong friend, to which he prefixed a copy of Latin verses which begin—

“Non fas est propius mortali attingere divos.”

Halley retained throughout his life an intimacy with his school-fellow, Robert Nelson, who was more than once his companion in continental travel. He died in 1742.

A contemporary of Thomas Gale wrote, after his death, “the loss of this great man would have been irreparable did not the father's genius still subsist in the son.” Reference is here made to Roger Gale, who was elected Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, in the last of the eight years during which he held a Campden Exhibition, who was, like his father, a Fellow of the Royal Society, was elected President of that body, was Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was one of its first vice-presidents. He was returned four times as M.P. for Northallerton, and was Commissioner of Stamps and of Excise. His younger brother, Samuel, the

godchild of Pepys, was treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries ; while the third brother, Charles, held the living of Scruton.

During the high mastership of Gale there came into being fresh records of the state of the school, which provide intermittent information concerning St. Paul's and its scholars, for the space of three-quarters of a century.

According to Samuel Knight, "the first General Meeting or Feast of the Scholars was held on St. Paul's Day (January 25), 1660, or the year following." It was celebrated annually on that date for four or five years, but no record has been preserved as to what form the proceedings took. We have evidence, however, in a scarce sermon, of the revival of the feast shortly after Gale's election,¹ in 1674. The document bears on its title-page the inscription, "A Sermon preached on the 27th of January, 1673/4, before several Persons who formerly have had their education in St. Paul's School London. By R. P. a member of that Society." The preface to the sermon is dated Horton, but this affords no clue to the identity of the preacher, and the only Pauline bearing the initials R. P., whose dates make it possible that he was the author of the sermon, is one, Richard Pye, a pupil of the younger Gill, who was elected a Campden Exhibitioner of Trinity, Cambridge, in 1635, and of whom nothing else is known.

The place at which the sermon of 1674 was preached is not known, but that of the following year was preached by Richard Meggott in St. Michael's, Cornhill. The preacher, addressing his congregation as "brethren, and companions of my earliest years," urges them to "gratitude to the place of your education, that flourishing happy *School* where the day first dawned, and began to break in upon you."

Meggott, who must have entered the school soon after

¹ A copy is in the Guildhall Library.

the troubles caused by the younger Gill, makes a passing reference to the effect of his rule, when he says that "the falling into unskilful Hands here, experience sheweth, is e'ne as hard to be overcome and corrected afterwards as in the first Concoction." He speaks of "a Library furnished with the choicest books of Philological learning burned by the late dreadful Fire, which is not yet recruited," and further pleads that "there are several poor children there (above the number that foundation alloweth anything in the University to) who with your encouragement may be one day Ornaments to the Nation, for whom I must exhort you *per spem crescentis Iuli.*"

Benjamin Calamy preached at the feast, probably in the following year, a sermon to which reference has already been made, and in 1678 William Wyat preached at the Guildhall Chapel.

After this the school feast fell into abeyance until it was revived by Postlethwayt twenty years later, when William Nicholls, a pupil of Gale, expressed his sentiments towards his former high master by saying, "to be under a good Schoolmaster is a lasting Blessing as long as we live," and the same preacher went on to say, "Great Publick Schools where Grammaticall Learning is in its highest Perfection, can never enough be esteemed and encouraged, and the Masters honoured and revered by their scholars." Matthew Postlethwayt, who preached in 1714, in the dedication of his sermon to the Mercers' Company, declares that "Dr. Gale had raised the credit of that School in the world to a very considerable height."

Among the MSS. of Thomas Gale in the library of Trinity, Cambridge, is one entitled "The constant Method of Teaching in St. Paul's School London," which is in fact nothing more than a time-table for each of the eight forms of the school. The most important of the items in that part

of the scheme which applies to the whole school is the first entry, "A Chapter in the Bible and set prayers in Latine every morning at 7 of the clock."

In the Eighth, every morning of the week was devoted to "A part in the Hebrew Psalter or Grammar," while in the afternoons Homer, Demosthenes, Persius and Juvenal were read, "moral themes or declamations" being composed on three afternoons of the week, and "a Divine theme" on Saturdays. The two next forms were under the same rules as regards themes, but the mornings in the Seventh were spent in reading "a part in the Minor Poets or Greek Grammar," and the afternoons were devoted to Horace, Apollodorus and Tulley's *Select Orations*. In the Sixth, Greek grammar occupied every morning, but apart from the Greek Testament, to which one afternoon a week was devoted, the only books read were Martial and Virgil. In the Fifth, as much time was devoted to Latin as to Greek grammar; the authors read were Virgil, Martial and Sallust, and the place of the themes of the upper forms, which appear to have been set as "home-work," was taken by Psalms, which had to be turned into Latin verse. No Greek was done in the four lowest forms, and in each of them every morning, save Friday, was occupied with Latin grammar, the morning of that day being devoted to "a Repetition of what hath been said ye whole weeke." In the Fourth, the *Metamorphosis* and *Epistles* of Ovid were read, and in the Third, the *Tristia*.

Another MS. in the Gale collection in the library of Trinity, Cambridge, is the earliest known catalogue of the school library. It is contained in a thin parchment-covered book, dated August 16, 1697. In consequence, it appears to have been made on the resignation of the high master, in whose collection it is to be found. At the end of the book is written, "all the Books mentioned in the foregoing

catalogue where (*sic*) in the study the Day and year above written." This statement is signed by two boys, the first of whom, Leonard Darant, was poor scholar from 1697-1699, a fact which bears out the suggestion already made in connection with Samuel Johnson that the poor scholar had charge of the library. The other signatory to the statement referred to was Richard Skikelthorp, who went up to Cambridge as an exhibitioner in the year named, and was probably one of the head boys in the school. The number of books named in the catalogue was four hundred and thirty-four, and these must have almost without exception been collected to replace those destroyed in the Great Fire during the high mastership of Gale.¹ It is probable, as we have already seen, that a certain number were saved, for there is no doubt to this day that the smell of fire has passed over a few books in the school library, notably a copy of Edward Grant's *Westminster Greek Grammar* of 1575. Several of the books mentioned in the catalogue have unfortunately disappeared, notably Caxton's *Chronicles*, and Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Colet's *Grammar* of 1534, the copy of which, given by Cromleholme to Samuel Pepys, is still in the Magdalene Library. Finally, the list contains a copy of the Paris folio of *Vegetius*, 1532, which was doubtless the book, the text or plates of which John Churchill used to study when a boy at St. Paul's. It is worthy of note that none of Milton's works were in the library at this date, though more than a quarter of a century had elapsed since the publication of *Paradise Lost*. Busby's library at Westminster contained a first edition of the Pauline poet.

¹ *Pauline*, vol. viii., No. 42, p. 129, June 1890.

Nation equal for their time to Wallis of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Mr. Fawcet of Bene't College in Cambridge, late his scholars. He is very careful of the Religion and Manners of those under his care, and taketh pains with divers of them every Lord's Day before Church-time. His Conversation is serious and discreet, and hath nothing of Pedantry in it. I have said very much of him, and yet cannot do him justice in saying less.¹

"THO. CANTUAR."

In addition to this certificate as to his great abilities, Postlethwayt's application was supported by his college at Oxford, and also—for some reason—by Bene't College at Cambridge, while additional testimonials were presented by him from Hough, Bishop of Oxford; Patrick, Bishop of Ely; Moore, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Richard Bentley, who was afterwards the celebrated Master of Trinity; Wake, who was destined to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Hody, who was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford; Knipe, head master of Westminster; Lancaster, who was Vicar of St. Martin's in the Field, and who soon after became Provost of Queen's College, Oxford; and last, but not least, John Evelyn the Diarist.

With a body of recommendations such as this, coming from all the most distinguished scholars of his day, it would give cause for surprise if Postlethwayt had not been elected, and as a matter of fact he was appointed to fill the vacant post on September 3, 1697. It would be interesting to know the meaning of a remark in a letter from John Wallis, one of Postlethwayt's old pupils at Oxford, in which the writer, after congratulating the newly elected high master, goes on to say, "plus valerit sola virtus tua quam clandestinae ac fraudulentae aliorum artes."

In the year following Postlethwayt's appointment, it was

¹ Strype's *Stow*, i. 168.

resolved by the Court of the Mercers' Company that three years' education in St. Paul's should be required to qualify candidates to petition for exhibitions, "in consequence of boys being put into the school for six or twelve months to obtain them," and it has been suggested that the reason for this resolution is to be found in a transfer by Postlethwayt of some of his pupils from Archbishop Tenison's school to St. Paul's, on his appointment to his new position.

Among the papers in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne is another describing the condition of the school under Dr. Gale, with the obvious suggestion that Postlethwayt was the only man fit to succeed him : "In 1697 St. Paul's School was the chiefest nursery in the City for learning and manners," and the excellences of the school are thus set out in tabular form—

Present state of St. Paul's School, with its fame and reput- ation.	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 10px;">Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Poetry, Oratory,</td> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 10px;">are taught as at</td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 10px;">Westminster, Eton, Winchester,</td> <td style="vertical-align: top;">the chiefest schools in England.</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Poetry, Oratory,	are taught as at	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 10px;">Westminster, Eton, Winchester,</td> <td style="vertical-align: top;">the chiefest schools in England.</td> </tr> </table>	Westminster, Eton, Winchester,	the chiefest schools in England.
Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Poetry, Oratory,	are taught as at	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 10px;">Westminster, Eton, Winchester,</td> <td style="vertical-align: top;">the chiefest schools in England.</td> </tr> </table>	Westminster, Eton, Winchester,	the chiefest schools in England.		
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An affectionate letter addressed by Richard Bentley to the high master, which is extant, in which the Master of Trinity gave directions for the education of his nephew at St. Paul's, shows in what high esteem Postlethwayt was held by the greatest English scholar of the day.¹

Immediately after his election to the high mastership in 1697 Postlethwayt took care that the school feast, which had been in abeyance for nearly twenty years, should be revived. The occasion is memorable as being the first recorded meeting held in St. Paul's Cathedral, and William Nicholls, the preacher, in "A Sermon preached before the gentlemen educated in St. Paul's School upon the reviving their Ancient Anniversary Meeting," speaks of "renewing this Antient Love Feast, upon the first anniversary of this blessed Saint after the rebuilding of his Temple . . . where we remember to have played our childish pastimes among its desolate ruins," a reference to the fact that while the school, according to the inscription, was "feliciter restaurata post incendium," in 1670, the first stone of Wren's cathedral was not laid until the year 1675.

The preacher, who declares that all Paulines must "thank Almighty God for our ingenuous education in that school," addresses his congregation as "my Christian Brethren, you my Dearest Companions of my tender years, you, with whom I had the happiness to lay the Foundation of my Studies in the neighbouring Schoole, where we have gained the advantage of such an Education, as has improved our Minds beyond the generality of those who have unhappily been destitute of the like Noble Assistancess."

The preacher in the following year, John Pulley, a prebendary of St. Paul's, whose name appears next to that of the Duke of Marlborough in the school registers, made an appeal "for offerings to be placed with the stewards,"

¹ Diary of Edward Rud.

and urged his congregation "to promote and advance the honour of the School and to offer up Thanksgiving for all those excellent Advantages which we, by God's goodness, have obtained from a Free and Ingenuous Education at our School." The sermon preached by Samuel Bradford, in 1699-1700, although of no particular interest in itself, deserves to be mentioned because in its printed form it is the first of the series containing lists of the stewards of the feast, from which the names of no less than one hundred and eighty scholars of St. Paul's School have been rescued from oblivion.

An interesting gift to the school dating from Postlethwayt's high mastership is to be found in four large folio volumes in the library entitled *The English Atlas*, published at Oxford in 1680 and the three succeeding years, each of which bears the inscription "September 12, 1711, Governor Yale gave this and the other three volumes, to be kept in the Master's House for the use of his boarders, and desired that some part of this work should be read by them twice at least every week." Elihu Yale, the donor of these books, was the benefactor of the great college in Connecticut which was named after him on its removal to his birthplace, New Haven. He was brought over to England to be educated in 1658 and was left here for some years. The place of his education is unknown, but his benefaction to the library of St. Paul's suggests that he may have been a Pauline, a surmise which it would be interesting to have verified.

Another book of this date which is preserved in the school library is a richly bound copy of Edward Tenison's sermon at the anniversary school feast preached in the cathedral in 1710-11. This volume is said to have formerly belonged to Queen Caroline, the wife of George II, to whom, no doubt, it was presented by the preacher. The sermon is chiefly remarkable from its reference to

Marlborough as "that great man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle he did not gain," and to the honour conferred by him on "the foundation of the beneficent Colet." From the fact that among the stewards occur the names of distinguished Old Paulines such as the Earl of Orrery, Lord Wandell, Hon. Algernon Coote and Sir Robert Clarges, we may presume that special stress was laid on the celebration in view of the second centenary which had just been passed.

In the history of most public schools, as in that of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the decay which became so evident in the middle of the eighteenth century had begun to make itself felt even at the date when it was still news that Queen Anne was dead. At St. Paul's this was not so, thanks to the worthy manner in which Postlethwayt filled the high master's chair in succession to his three great predecessors, Langley, Cromleholme and Gale.

Apart from the school feast of which we have spoken there is no known record of any celebrations at St. Paul's in connection with the second centenary of the foundation of the school. If the anniversary had been kept as it deserved there is little doubt that no school in the country, not even Eton itself, could have pointed to so many of its alumni holding distinguished positions in Church and State as did St. Paul's during the second decade of the eighteenth century.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won the battle of Malplaquet in the year of the second centenary of his old school. At the same time Charles Montagu, Earl of Manchester, was Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, and Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, was Envoy Extraordinary to the States-general of the United Provinces. James Stanley, Earl of Derby, was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a few years later Lord Wandell, who by that time had

succeeded to the title of Earl of Forfar, was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Prussia.

There were four Old Paulines on the episcopal bench in the first twenty-five years of the new century. Richard Cumberland was Bishop of Peterborough ; George Hooper, of Bath and Wells ; John Leng, of Norwich ; and Samuel Bradford, of Carlisle. The last held also the Mastership of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and five other headships of Houses in Oxford and Cambridge were held by Paulines in the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century. Humfrey Gower was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, simultaneously with John Balderstone, Master of Emmanuel ; Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, of Trinity Hall ; and William Wyatt, Principal of St. Mary's Hall at Oxford ; while in 1713, two years after Gower's death, another Old Pauline, William Grigg, became Master of Clare. In the legal world Paulines were equally conspicuous. When Sir Edward Northeby was Attorney-General, an Old Pauline, Sir John Trevor, was Master of the Rolls, and Spencer Cowper, a future Judge of the Common Pleas, held the post of Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales. St. Paul's was further represented in the House of Commons, over which its alumnus, the Hon. Spencer Compton, presided as Speaker, by George Doddington, a Lord of the Admiralty ; Anthony Hammond and Roger Gale, the last of whom, as Fellow of the Royal Society, was a contemporary and colleague of men of science so distinguished as Edmund Halley, the Astronomer-Royal ; Edward Stillingfleet, Gresham Professor of Physic, and Robert Nelson. Among other Paulines of distinction without whose names this list would be incomplete are John Strype, the antiquary ; Sir Charles Peers, Lord Mayor of London in 1716 ; Sir Edmund D'Oyley, and Sir William Bernard.

One interesting relic of the last year of Postlethwayt's

that looks like a page of that *chef d'œuvre* of typography, the Granville Homer.

One Colonel John Ayres, who became a celebrated writing-master, taught his art in St. Paul's Churchyard, and in 1700 published a *Paul's School Roundhand*. One may surmise that he preceded John Rayner, who was his pupil, as writing-master in the school, a position the fees for which were partly defrayed from the collections at the school feast, and the results of which are to be seen in the statement in the biography of Sir Philip Francis, that "a century ago the scholars especially of St Paul's School and of Christ's Hospital were noted for their capital and uniform handwriting."

One interesting record of the work of the school under Postlethwayt has been preserved, and deserves quotation *in extenso*, as it shows the books read in the upper school exactly two centuries ago. The MS. owes its preservation to the fact that it was bound up in a volume of John Strype's "miscellaneous collections" in the Lansdowne Library in the British Museum.¹ It bears the title, "Books for Paul School, wherein ye 4 upper Forms were examined, Mar. 23 1709-10," and the memorandum forms a record of the second occasion on which Strype acted as "Apposer" in his old school. It runs as follows—

"Cl. 8a.

Bib. Heb. Exodi 3um v. 1 &c.
Aeschyli, Persae v. 1 &c.
Ciceronis, pro P. Quintio Oratio.
Livii L. 6tus.
Horatii, Carmen Saeculare. Epodon, Lib.

"Cl. 7ma.

Bib. Heb. Gen. 6 v. 1 &c.
Hom. Il. 8 v. I &c.
Euripidis, Medaea.
Ciceronis, Tuscul. Disput. L. 4.
Virg., Georg. L. 2v. I &c.

¹ Lans. MSS., 1197, p. 105.

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Psalmus 21us, Heb.
 Hesiodi, Generatio Deorum.
 Luciani, Dialog. 3us, Prometheus.
 Eutropii, Lib. 9us.
 Terentii, Heautont. Act. 11us Sc. 1a.

“Cl. 5a.

Evang. S. Matthaei Cap. 5um.
 Phaedri Lib. 5us Fab. 1ma &c.
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In comparing this syllabus with the outline of work afforded by Gale's time-table, the date of which is not known, but which from the year in which the latter became high master, cannot possibly have been drawn up more than thirty-eight years before Strype's memorandum, the outstanding feature is that Postlethwayt, in his enthusiasm for Oriental studies, had included Hebrew in the work of the Seventh and Sixth as well as of the Eighth.

Among the valuable MSS. in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne is a volume containing speeches delivered in Greek and Latin by successive eighth form boys in the last years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century. They are evidently to a great extent the work of the boys themselves, although they occasionally bear interlinear corrections in Dr. Postlethwayt's handwriting.

Reference has been made to the speech delivered in 1702 by Christopher Hussey, in connection with its bearing on the most distinguished Pauline of the day, the Duke of Marlborough, but apart from that the orations are of interest, including, as they do, speeches made to the “*apposers*” or examiners by the head boy in each form, which contain an account of the books read during the year.

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devoted to Hebrew, as to which they declare "nos certe mirifice ea delectamur," while allusion is made to their study of other Oriental languages, notably Arabic, a fact which shows how far Postlethwayt carried his enthusiasm for Oriental studies.

The reading of the Seventh includes Homer, Theocritus, Virgil and Cicero. It is interesting to find a declaration on the part of London boys of a liking for Theocritus, in spite, as they ingenuously confess, of their ignorance of rustic affairs. Virgil is declared to be the Roman Homer and Theocritus in one, and of Cicero it is said that he alone could worthily pronounce his own encomium. The books read by the Sixth include an anthology of Greek epigrams, while another form, the name of which is not given at the head of the address, has been engaged in the study of Hesiod, Eutropius, Lucian, Terence, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a list which shows that the study of Greek extended throughout the whole of the upper half of the school.¹

The present high master has presented to the school library another MS. volume, entitled, "Orationes publice habitae in Schola Divi Pauli, Londini, 1704," which contains the prize exercises exhibited at the Apposition held on March 22, 1703-04, at which the Old Pauline antiquary, John Strype, and Dr. Green were apposers.

Four of the Latin speeches are devoted, as in 1702, to an account of the books read by the head forms. Thomas Andrews, who gained an exhibition in the following year and was a future Fellow of Trinity, states that the work of the Eighth has included Cicero, Virgil, Livy and the Greek tragedians, together with Hebrew—"the mother of all tongues"—and Chaldee. Edward J. West, a boy who has otherwise not been identified as a Pauline, speaks, "de libris

¹ *Pauline*, vol. x., No. 55, p. 110.

Septimae classis," comprising Homer—"the incomparable"—with Theocritus and Virgil. Benjamin Lardner, who also has not been identified, declares that the Sixth read Hesiod, Lucian, Sallust and Terence, while a boy named Luke, who may probably be identified with an exhibitioner of 1707, explains that the Fifth study the Greek Testament, together with Phaedrus and Quintus Curtius.¹

Of the nine remaining prose orations, one by the Campden Exhibitioner of the year is in Hebrew, and one is in Greek, the remainder being in Latin. Of these the most interesting is that by Charles Henry Lee, the occurrence of whose name here has served to identify as an Old Pauline the Hon. Chas. Lee, who was a benefactor to the library in 1706, a circumstance which is recorded in the library catalogue of 1743.

Three of the *Carmina* included in this volume are in Greek and twelve are in Latin. The dates which they bear vary from 1701 to 1704, and they appear to have been collected by Richard Thoroton, whose name, with the date 1704, the book bears on its title-page. Among the authors of the *Carmina* are Thoroton himself, Christopher Hussey and the Hon. Algernon Coote, who afterwards became Earl of Montrath.

In an unsigned "Account of John Postlethwayt," which is among the Hartshorne MSS., it is stated that "He laid on his blows with this intermission, that the offender under his hand might just then be put in mind between each of them what was the cause and design of the punishment. . . . He thus slowly laying on his blows without passion, with reasoning and arguing between."

In his funeral sermon, on the other hand, it was said of him that "his constant Attendance upon, and Diligence in his School, was most remarkable, and perhaps without

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xxiv., No. 156, p. 181.

William Perry, Fellow of Trinity, and lecturer of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, who was a Campden Exhibitioner in 1671, left £1000 to Dr. Gale to be invested in lands or a rent charge for the maintenance of five exhibitioners, each drawing £10 a year for eight years so long as they remained in residence at Trinity, Cambridge. The college had some difficulty in recovering the money from the executors of Dean Gale, who died in 1702, and it appears that they only succeeded in recovering £600 from his son Roger, who was his chief executor. This they invested in an estate in Essex, which in 1724 maintained five scholars at £5 each, but the value of the exhibitions subsequently rose to £13, and they were regarded as tenable until the holder was of M.A. standing.

By the will of Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, who died in 1711, scholarships of £10 a year, to be awarded to clergymen's sons, were founded at St. John's for boys educated for at least three years, either at St. Paul's School or at Dorchester Grammar School, the two schools at which Gower had himself been educated. Only eight Paulines appear to have been elected to these scholarships, but the list includes the name of Thomas Clarkson, the philanthropist. Although the Cambridge University Commission of 1850 supposed that the claim of Paulines to them had perished through desuetude, Herbert Clementi Smith was elected to one of these scholarships in 1856, but since that date no Pauline appears to have held them.

None of the holders of exhibitions from St. Paul's received more than £10 a year from any of the various endowments available at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is said that a Christ Church student of Westminster could live on his studentship in Atterbury's time, although its nominal value was only £20. The bills of

Matthew Postlethwayt at St. John's College, Cambridge, which are extant, show that his college bills amounted to about £30 a year, towards the payment of which his exhibition from St. Paul's cannot have gone very far.

temporary both at St. Paul's and at Trinity, Cambridge, of the surmaster.

Ayscough presented testimonials from Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester; William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph; William Talbot, Bishop of Peterborough, and other learned men, and to these recommendations may, perhaps, be attributed his successful application for a post nomination to which, as we have seen, was refused him sixteen years before, on the ground of his negligence in the discharge of his duties.

At the date of his appointment Ayscough must have been over fifty years of age. He had been a "poor scholar" at St. Paul's from 1673 till 1675, under the mastership of Thomas Gale. In 1676 he graduated at Trinity, Cambridge, as a Campden Exhibitioner, but of his career during the ten years which elapsed between the date of his degree and his appointment in 1685 to the surmastery of St. Paul's absolutely nothing is known. It is interesting to notice that he was the first surmaster for a hundred and forty years to pass directly to the high mastership, for Cromleholme after being surmaster was head master of Dorchester School before he was elected high master of St. Paul's. One important fact which may have had some bearing on the promotion of the surmaster to the high master's chair is to be found in the minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers, under the date October 8, 1713, just a week, that is to say, before the Court met to fill the vacancy caused by Postlethwayt's death. The entry runs: "Whereas the Statutes and Ordinances of the said Founder doth empower the Wardens and Assistants of the Fellowship of the Mystery of the Mercers to add and diminish unto the said Founders book of Statutes—Then the Question was put whether this Court shall make any alterations in the said Orders of themselves without the advice of Council

(sic) Learned in the Law or not, and it was carried in the Affirmative. And Afterwards the Court upon mature consideration have and do hereby Order for the Good and Benefit of the said School that at all times hereafter the Master Wardens and Court of Assistants of this Fellowship shall make the Choice of the Sur Master of Paul's School themselves and not by the High Master of the said School or any other Person whatsoever."

By this means the Mercers arrogated to themselves the right of appointing the surmaster, and deprived the high master of one of his chief prerogatives.

Clement Tookie, the first surmaster appointed, not by the high master but by the Mercers, was, like Ayscough himself, an Old Pauline, and like him, again, had been a Campden Exhibitioner of Trinity College, Cambridge. On coming down from the University, he was immediately appointed under usher. Tookie's successor in the post of under usher, Isaac Steele, was, like his two colleagues, an Old Pauline. He addressed Matthew Postlethwayt as "cousin" in his letters, and there is reason to believe that he was nephew to the late high master.¹ Steele succeeded Tookie as surmaster on the resignation of the latter to accept a country living in Cambridgeshire, from which in course of time he was promoted to a minor canonry and prebendal stall in Ely Cathedral. Steele's successor as under usher or chaplain was Hugh Wyat, one of Ayscough's first pupils at St. Paul's, who received the appointment immediately after graduating at Bene't College, Cambridge, and it will thus be seen that during the eight years of Ayscough's high mastership the whole of the teaching staff of the school consisted solely of Old Paulines.

Some time between 1713 and 1721 Ayscough took a Doctor's degree, probably a D.D. of Cambridge. In 1721

¹ *Vide* Joh. Coll. Reg., pt. iii. p. 14, line 45.

fact that "instruction is given in the School in Grammar Rhetoric, and the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee tongues," which bears out Strype in showing that with the death of Postlethwayt the study of Oriental languages was not abandoned. He speaks of St. Paul's as "the chiefest Nursery in this Great City for Learning and Good Manners," and the sermon ends with a delightfully pompous apostrophe to the boys of the school, "the growing hopes of that Nursery of Piety and Learning, whose Years render them capable of wholesome Advice"; and to "You, more particularly, Ingenious Youth! who are shortly proceeding to more Manly Studies; to Studies which belong to your maturer age, and which are peculiar to the University."

The preacher selected for the following year disappointed the stewards, and Clement Tookie, the surmaster, filled his place at three days' notice. In his sermon, the cost of printing which was paid by the company, he speaks of the school—

"The Temporal Advantages of which I cannot better and more briefly set forth than by assuring you that for above two hundred years, Men, considerable at Home and Abroad, in the City and at the Bar, in the Senate, and at Court, in the Church and State, have in the Place of our Education, laid the Foundation of their Eminence; and that, at the present some of them whom yourselves know, enjoy the Ornaments and Rewards of their Virtuous and Learned Improvements, and deservedly shine with the Mace, the Coronet, and the Mitre."

The sermon of Samuel Knight, preached in the following year, is pitched in the same key as far as references to the school are concerned. Among the MSS. at the British Museum is one which shows that the "List of Distinguished Paulines dead and living, with a special notice of the Duke

of Marlboro'," which Knight added to the printed edition of the sermon, was largely furnished by John Strype, for in a letter to the antiquary dated January 29, 1717-18, the preacher says—

" . . . I must desire you to help me to as many of the famous Men educated in St Paul's School as you can, and to send them to me at Mr Wyat's, being printing my Sermon and having occasion to mention such. However I hope to see you on Tuesday whether you can assist me or not in this affair. I am your

"humble servant,
"Sam. Knight."

In his sermon, which was a most patriotic effort, Dr. Knight, at that time chaplain to the Earl of Orford, laid stress upon the fact that the school had been "so productive of singularly useful Persons in their several Stations and Employments." After having mentioned the most distinguished Old Paulines then living, the preacher went on to say—

"These should fire the growing youth who succeed them in these happy advantages to do something that may augment the future credit of that School which has proved so fruitful a nursery to the Publick, and thereby increase the Catalogue of those whom succeeding Generations shall look back upon with admiration." In another part of this most interesting sermon the preacher declared that, "It doth not a little redound to the Credit of the neighbouring school that Lilly, the first *master* thereof, was so excellent a Grammarian, that by Publick Authority his *Grammar* is used to this day throughout the kingdom."

One other fact concerning this sermon deserves mention. It is the earliest of the series, printed copies of which are



than a month after his fruitless application it is recorded that "the Company paid the parish dues for his buryall." Another Pauline, William Betterley, was also a defeated candidate; but of other aspirants to the post, if any, no record has been preserved. Betterley soon after became head master of Worcester Grammar School.

The new high master, Benjamin Morland by name, was a Fellow of the Royal Society. It is not known at what school he was educated, and the absence of his name from the lists of *Alumni Oxoniensis* or *Graduati Cantabrigienses* suggests that he had no degree at either University. His age at the date of his election cannot have been less than sixty-eight, and of his former career we know nothing more than that he had for some years maintained a very successful private school at Hackney.

All that is known of Morland's personality is to be found in Samuel Knight's *Life of Colet*, in which the Old Pauline author, after mentioning him in his list of high masters, goes on to add, "Under whom I must in justice to him say that this school is in a very flourishing state, so that we need not doubt of having hereafter several more worthies added to complete the following list of those who have been educated in this school." It is possible that he was the son of Dr. Samuel Morland, F.R.S., at whose school in Bethnal Green Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was educated about 1700.

The Latin epigram signed B. M., which is prefixed to the *Preces*, is usually attributed to Morland. It runs—

"En faciem sculptor simulavit et ora Coleti
Efficta artifici, spirat imago manu
At sua commendant melius benefacta Coletum
Postgenitis : nequeunt haec monumenta mori."

In their original form the word "plastes" took the place of "sculptor" in the first of these lines, which were written on the bust of Dean Colet.

contributions for the head gown-boy at the Charterhouse after he had delivered his oration on Founder's Day.

In the following year the collection at the school feast, at which A. A. Sykes preached, amounted to £42 15s. 6d., and a saving was effected by spending only £8 10s. in putting two boys out to apprenticeship. In 1725, the year in which Alured Clarke was preacher, a still smaller sum was collected—namely, £40 16s.—and whereas a slightly larger grant was made to the library, and eighteen boys were taught writing and arithmetic at the rate of £1 each per annum, economies were effected by apprenticing only one boy at a cost of £6, and expending the sum of £10 for the admission of only one boy into the University. The sermon, in 1726, of John Leng, who had been preacher in 1712, and who is the only Old Pauline known to have made two sermons at the school feast, has not been found in print, while of that of Henry Parker, the preacher in the following year, the copy in the Guildhall Library is, so far as I know, a unique specimen. In it the preacher exclaims, "May there be never any strife or contention among us, except it be this, who shall do most for the glory of God and the honour of St Paul's School." The disposal of the money collected, which amounted to £42, shows that only £6 was voted "towards the admission of a lad into the University," while a new item appears, amounting to £12, "To the Lad that made the Speech," a sum which, although not expressly so stated, served no doubt as an endowment for the captain, who presumably proceeded either to Oxford or to Cambridge.

A similar mode of distribution was followed in 1728. Thomas Hough, preaching at the school feast in that year, declared that "It is to the honour and reputation of St. Paul's School that in *nothing* is it behind the *very chiefest schools*; having ever since its foundation continued to send

forth into the world a constant succession of persons of distinguish'd worth and merit who have been famed and remark'd for their address and abilities in their respective stations callings and professions : that it has bred up those who have arrived at the highest skill and eminency in divinity, law, physic, poetry, history, antiquity, mathematics, and every other part of useful and polite learning, that out of it the church has been supplied with strenuous and vigilant defenders of the true Christian faith : the Court with wise and able ministers : the Senate with a SPEAKER whose praise it is to have been elected, in the late reign, to preside in that honourable assembly in two successive parliaments ; and to name no more, the camp with a GENERAL in whom courage conduct and success conspired to render him the boast and glory of our own age and the envy of all succeeding ones : that it has hitherto presented an unsullied character and reputation as to virtue and morals ; and that those fashionable gaieties (to say no worse of them) those vices and debaucheries which too visibly reign in most places of public education, have never been able to gain any considerable footing there ; that it has always been very signally remarkable for its steady and unbiassed loyalty ; for its zealous and constant affection to the succession in the *Protestant* line ; and for its firm attachment to our present happy establishment in church and state ; which, no doubt, has been owing to those early principles of subjection, and a dutiful obedience to the higher powers which have always been and still are industriously inculcated on the minds of the youth."

The preacher's references to the standard of morality in the public schools in the eighteenth century may be read in conjunction with Smollett's description of Winchester in *Peregrine Pickle*, and the statement by Charles Simeon, the well-known Cambridge evangelical, who declared half-a-

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century later that he would be tempted to take the life of his son rather than let him see the vice which he had seen at Eton.

Thomas Salmon, the most distinguished of the pupils of Benjamin Morland, was a native of Tiverton, Devon, who instead of being sent to school at Blundell's came up to London to St. Paul's. At Cambridge he held both a Campden and a Perry Exhibition, and after holding various benefices he became chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, who as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland presented him to the Bishopric of Ferns.

The Duke of Bedford appears to have had a *penchant* for Old Pauline chaplains, for another holder of that post, Thomas Broughton, was educated first at Eton, and then at St. Paul's. After graduating at Cambridge as a wrangler, he became reader to the Temple, and Bishop Sherlock, the master, made him a prebendary of Salisbury, where he occupied a stall for forty years. A man of the most catholic tastes, Broughton, who was a friend of Handel, translated Voltaire, wrote a huge dictionary of religions, edited Dryden, and wrote a large number of the biographies in the *Biographia Britannica*.

Another distinguished clergyman who was one year junior to Broughton at Cambridge was George North, the son of a citizen of London, who became a well-known numismatist and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

One of the only two other pupils of Morland of the slightest interest was distinguished for the penmanship which, as we have seen, was at the beginning of the eighteenth century one of the objects of pride in the school. Joseph Champion, who is said to have been partly educated at St. Paul's, was the author of two well-known books on caligraphy, and in 1751 taught writing in the school. John Clark, the son of an eminent penman, went to

Trinity, Cambridge, with a Perry Exhibition, and subsequently became, as we have seen, assistant to Morland, and when the latter died and was succeeded by Timothy Crumpe, Clark filled the place of chaplain vacated by the new high master, and four years later became surmaster. The main interest in his career lies in the fact that he was a "King's Scholar" at Cambridge, holding as he did one of the scholarships founded by George I.

In 1721 £4 were paid "for setting the books of the library in order."

Knight's *Life of Colet* contains a catalogue of the school library as it existed in 1724, which shows that it contained 663 books. The latest purchases are set down as being Pierson (sic) on the *Creed*, *Terentius in Usum Delphini*, and Greenwood's *English Grammar*, the work of the recently appointed surmaster, which we may presume was taught in the school.

The description of St. Paul's written by a Portuguese merchant from Lisbon, Don Manoel Gonzalo, who visited the school in the year 1730, describes the library as "consisting chiefly of classic authors," and the same writer's extremely accurate account contains a description of the appearance of the school written only six years after the view in Knight's *Colet* was engraved, in which he says, "The frontispiece is adorned with bustos, entablature, pediments, festoons, shields, vases, and the Mercers' arms, cut in stone : with this inscription over the door, 'INGREDERE UT PROFICIAS.' Upon every window of the school was written by the founder's direction, 'AUT DOCE, AUT DISCE, AUT DISCEDE.'"

The connection of the family of Postlethwayt with St. Paul's continued long after the death of the high master of that name.

Letters from Mathew Postlethwayt which have been

preserved show that he frequently stayed at the school when in London for many years after the death of his uncle. His son, John, who was a godson of the high master, was at St. Paul's under Morland, and in a letter written in January 1727 to his wife, by Mathew Postlethwayt, the latter speaks of the very kind and handsome treatment which the boy received from his master, Morland, while mention in the same letter of "our little nephew here" refers to another member of the family who has not yet been identified.

The portrait of young John Postlethwayt, which represents him as a handsome dark boy in a white wig, grey coat and steinkirk, is with that of his father in the set of nine pastel portraits by John Sanders in the collection of Mr. Hartshorne.

From the letters which are extant it appears that James Greenwood, the surmaster, kept a boarding house in which John Postlethwayt was a boarder. In spite of the fact that his father was able to write to his wife that "Mr. Morland expressed a very tender and affectionate concern for his welfare," the boy was troublesome and extravagant, and his taste for theatre-going caused his father to write him a very severe letter, the burden of which was "I utterly abhor and disapprove of Play-houses." The boy's dislike for the food provided in Greenwood's boarding house resulted in his father causing him to be removed into that kept by Hugh Wyat, the chaplain.

John Postlethwayt went from St. Paul's to Merton, the college to which his great-uncle, the high master, had been a benefactor, and after serving for some years as chaplain on H.M.S. *Worcester*, he succeeded his father as Rector of Denton.

A letter from his father written to him in December 1727, while he was still at school, which speaks of

"sending Mr. Morland a guinea for ye Breaking up at Christmas," points to the prevalence at this time, as in that of Gale, of a custom of giving the high master a gratuity, an exact counterpart to which is to be found in existence at Westminster at the same period.

In a letter from Hugh Wyat, the chaplain of the school, written on March 21, 1726-27, to his school-fellow, Samuel Kerrich, reference is made to an episode of which no explanation has been forthcoming.

"Our Schoolfellow, Mr. Marriot," he writes, "has resolved to take up the cudgels in defence of Paul's School, and will punish to the utmost Rigour of the Law those pretty Gentlemen who have burnt our Records. He will begin his prosecution next term."

The Sessions Papers of the Central Criminal Court, which contain a complete list of prisoners and of the crimes for which they were indicted, reveal nothing which sheds any light on this ominous statement.

James Carrington, became Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter ; another, Edward Venn, became a well-known physician, but the chief interest in his name centres in the fact that he was a brother of the celebrated Calvinistic divine, Henry Venn, the place of whose education before his admission five years after his brother to St. John's, Cambridge, is unknown. It is possible that he also may have been at St. Paul's. The name of a third of Crumpe's pupils has been preserved from the fact that as "porter boy" he received £4 in payment for two years in 1737, and that of James Strahan, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, has been gleaned from the lists of stewards of the school feast. The last name is that of Daniel Bellamy, a theological writer of sufficient note to deserve mention in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

GEORGE CHARLES, 1737-1748

The scanty information which is extant as to the state of the school during the high masterships of Morland and Crumpe turns, so far as the career of the high master is concerned, into an atmosphere of mystery as soon as one comes to deal with Crumpe's successor, George Charles. The date of his birth was either 1703 or 1704, consequently his age at his election to the high mastership in February 1737 was about thirty-four. Of his places of education nothing whatever is known.

That Charles was educated at some university appears almost certain from the fact that while he is referred to as "Mr Charles" in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company in 1741, in the following year he becomes known as Dr. Charles, while in 1743 there is an explicit reference to him as George Charles, LL.D. A careful search of the registers of the Universities has not revealed his name in the records of any of those of England, Ireland or Scotland.

The one fragment of information which is extant concerning his high mastership is to be found in a letter written in 1746¹ to an Old Pauline pupil, John Laurence, who had been sent from Pennsylvania to be educated at St. Paul's, and who afterwards became Judge of the Court of that plantation, and married a sister of Mrs. Penn.

From the list of Old Paulines printed in Ackerman's *History of the Public Schools*, it was known that Lord Frederick Campbell—the son of the fourth Duke of Argyll—was educated at St. Paul's by George Charles, and from this letter, written by the high master, it appears that his brother, "your School-fellow Jack Campbell," was also an Old Pauline.

John Campbell, who was born in 1723, rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel at the age of twenty-two, and distinguished himself in Scotland in "the forty-five." An account of this is given in the high master's letter. In 1767 he became commander-in-chief in Scotland. Three years later he succeeded to the title of Duke of Argyll, having been created a peer of Great Britain as Lord Sunbridge four years earlier. He received a field-marshall's baton in 1796, and died in 1806, at the age of eighty-three, being the senior officer in the British Army.

Readers of Boswell will remember the account of Dr. Johnson's visit to the Duke of Argyll at Inverary Castle, to which a certain piquancy is given by the details of the marked courtesy with which for political reasons the Duchess, who was one of "the beautiful Miss Gunnings," treated the great man's biographer.

It is most probable that Lord Henry Campbell, the Duke's brother, was also at St. Paul's. He was *aide-de-camp* to General Ligonier, and was killed in 1747 at the battle of Lafeldt. No doubt, however, exists as to Lord

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xii., No. 68, May, 1894, p. 101.

Frederick Campbell having been at St. Paul's. From school he went to Christ Church, and was called to the Bar. For many years he sat in Parliament, and became Privy Councillor and Keeper of the Privy Seal for Scotland. In 1767 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had a seat in the Irish House of Commons, and in the following year he was appointed Lord Clerk Register for Scotland.

In addition to having educated a man who, as we have seen, lived to be the senior officer in the British Army, George Charles, curiously enough, educated at St. Paul's a man who survived to be the oldest captain in the Royal Navy. This was Sir Alexander Schomberg, who entered the navy in 1743. He served under Admiral Boscawen at the reduction of Louisbourg, and was closely associated with Wolfe at Quebec in 1759. He was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1777, and survived till 1804.

Of the two pupils of Dr. Charles who are known to have held college fellowships, John Parkhurst of Clare, who was also educated at Rugby, became a well-known Hebrew scholar and biblical lexicographer. Another Old Pauline, John Carr by name, was a well-known translator of Lucian. He is said to have been a candidate for the high mastership of St. Paul's on the resignation of Dr. Thicknesse, and to have failed through the fact that he had no university degree. He became head master of Hertford Grammar School, and was granted an LL.D. *Honoris causa* by Marischal College, Aberdeen, in recognition of his classical scholarship.

The first record of a disagreement between Charles and the Mercers occurs in the minutes of a Court of Assistants¹ on March 20, 1740, according to which "The Court ordered that the Masters of the School return to their ancient method of Breaking up & coming to School again and that no alteration of that kind or otherwise be made in

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.



JOHN STRYPE

Antiquary.

[*See* *Virtue* *sc.*]

[*To face p. 320.*]



the School without the Leave of this Court." On March 10 in the following year the Court "ordered that Mr Charles the High Master of Paul's School do forthwith give Jonathan Collyer Esqre. the Surveyor Accomptant of Paul's School, a List of all the Names of the Children that appeared in the School on Thursday last or since, describing under which Master's care and what Form they are in. And it is ordered that the several Masters in the School do at the Apposition yearly give a List of the Scholars under their respective care."

Unfortunately, none of these lists compiled during the interval which elapsed before Charles was superseded by Thicknesse are extant, but that the order was complied with is evident from the following entry, dated March 24, 1742 : "The Court Enquired of Dr Charles how it came about that the Boys in the 5th and 6th Forms were heard together, he informed them there were so few Boys in the 6th Form he had moved the best of them into the 7th and the Juniors into the 5th, but that soon He intended to make up a 6th Form by removing the Boys. And the Court Admonished him to be in the School from 7 to 11 in the Forenoon and from 1 to 5 in the Afternoon, both Winter and Summer Holydays excepted." Similar directions as to the hours of attendance were given to "the Revd. John Clark the Sur Master," and to "Mr George Thicknesse the Chaplain."

In the transcript from the Mercers' minutes, from which quotations as to the state of the school have been made recording events in 1740 and the two following years, there is a lacuna extending from 1742 to 1747 which may have some significance in view of circumstances of which there is a record in another source.¹ From this it appears that in an old cash-book of the surveyor accountant of the school in

¹ Rep. of Char. Commrs., May 1, 1820, vol. iii. pp. 230 sqq.

the year 1713-14 there was a balance due from the company to the school of £13,571 7s. 4½d., while by the year 1745 the debt owing by the company to the school estate had risen to £34,637 15s. The explanation offered for this dealing with trust funds was that the Mercers' Company had in the preceding century suffered the loss of moneys lent to King Charles and to the Parliament, and had incurred a heavy debt amounting altogether to more than £100,000, by having to bear half the cost of rebuilding the Royal Exchange and other works, and that they had increased their liabilities by a scheme for granting annuities to the widows of subscribers, which had been started in the hope of retrieving their loss. There can be little doubt that speculation in the South Sea Bubble craze of 1721 had also contributed to the embarrassments of the Mercers, which they endeavoured to tide over by the use which they made of the funds of St. Paul's School.

The disapproval entertained for Dr. Charles by the Mercers' Company culminated in his dismissal after a few years in the high mastership.

The minute of a Court of Assistants held on February 4, 1747, records¹ that "The Court taking into consideration Dr Charles's Refusal to resign his place according to the Ordinances of the Founder and the Explanation thereof unanimously Resolved that the Master give him Warning quietly to depart the School and School House in Six Months from this day in the following words Viz. : Sir You having refused to resign your Place of High Master of Pauls School according to the Ordinances of Dean Colet the Founder and the Explanation thereof made in 1602 This Court doth give you Warning quietly to depart this School and School House in Six Months from this Day Which Warning Mr Deputy Daye in the Chair read to Dr Charles in the presence

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

of the Court." The aid of the Court of Arches is said to have been invoked for the purpose of removing the high master, but concerning the details of this no evidence is available.

On leaving St. Paul's, Dr. Charles became private secretary to William Henry Zuylestein, Earl of Rochford, who went in the following year as Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia at Turin. It is not known how long Charles retained this position. The Earl of Rochford returned to England in 1754.

Dr. Charles' handwriting is said to bear a strong resemblance to that of "Junius," and it is worthy of mention that the Earl of Rochford is one of the few men of note mentioned by "Junius" without condemnation.

Entries in the Calendars of Home Office Papers¹ certainly suggest the performance of some secret service by the retired school-master, for we find that on June 15, 1763, "A pension of £1,000 per annum for 31 years was granted to George Charles Esq., his executors etc. of Leicester Fields."

This pension appears to have been charged upon the Irish Establishment, for some years later occurs a record² of a King's Letter to the Treasury in Ireland remitting the tax of 4*s.* in the pound payable by Dr. Charles.

There are also extant letters written from Leicester Square³ by Dr. Charles to the Earl of Rochford relating to the appointment of a minister to the living of Fordoun in Kincardineshire, to which a Mr. Alexander Lestie was recommended. Finally, it appears from despatches⁴ sent by Lord Townshend, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord Rochford on December 5, 1771, that a Money Bill in the Irish House of Commons

¹ Cal. of Home Office Papers, 1760-65, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, 1770-72, pp. 406, 636, Feb. 17, 1769.

³ *Ibid.*, 1770-72, pp. 222, 237, Mar. 30, 1771.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1770-72, p. 334.

which was passed in that year excepted George Charles, together with Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, and Sir Edward Hawke from paying the tax of 4*s.* in the pound if exempted by His Majesty's sign manual.

Records have been preserved¹ to show that Charles produced further King's Letters for this purpose on March 8, 1771, on March 31, 1772, and again on March 23, 1774.²

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788³ contains this obituary notice : "December 10. At Charles Bedford's Esq. in Brixton Causeway, in his 85th year, George Charles Esq. He was formerly preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, and in consequence of being in that office had a pension of £300 a year."

No trace of a will which might throw some light on this mysterious career has been found. It has been suggested to me by the Rev. R. J. Walker, that a son of the high master may possibly be identified in the George Charles, a bookseller and publisher at Alloa, who, in 1817, brought out a *History of the Transactions in Scotland in 1715-16 and 1745-46*, concerning the adventures of Prince Charles after Culloden.

It will be noticed that the *Gentleman's Magazine* speaks of Dr. Charles' pension as amounting to £300 a year. From the Home Office Papers which we have quoted it appears that in 1763, when a pension of £1,000 a year was granted to Charles, pensions of £2,000 a year were awarded to the Duke and Duchess of Athol and to Sir Edward Hawke respectively. It is difficult to suppose that a pension of exactly one half the amount granted to a great nobleman and a distinguished naval commander was awarded to Charles merely for his services as tutor to a young prince.

It has hitherto been supposed that the Duke of Cumber-

¹ Cal. of Home Office Papers, 1770-72, pp. 406, 636.

² Ibid., 1773-75, p. 307.

³ p. 1130.

land, to whom Dr. Charles was tutor, was William Augustus, the third son of George II by Caroline of Anspach, who was born in 1720, and to whom therefore Charles acted as tutor before being appointed to St. Paul's.

As a matter of fact, his pupil was Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, who was born in 1745, and it therefore appears that Charles obtained his post in the Royal household after his return from Turin with the Earl of Rochford. Charles' pupil was a son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, by Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, and was therefore a brother of George III. It is most probable that Dr. Charles was also tutor to William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who was only two years older than the Duke of Cumberland.

The Duke of Cumberland's strait-laced mother kept him as a boy under such severe discipline that when he was released from her control he became notorious for excesses. In 1770 his brothers had to assist him in finding £10,000, which Richard, first Earl Grosvenor had recovered against him for *Crim. Con.* with the Countess Grosvenor.

The *Oxford Magazine* for that year proves that the late high master had been tutor to this notorious libertine and not to his earlier namesake, as has hitherto been supposed, for in the course of the volume, which is full of somewhat coarse persiflage at the expense of the guilty parties, there occurs what purports to be a letter to the Duke from "Dr Charles Junior." The letters between the guilty parties which were put in evidence in the case were very ill-spelt, and the same volume¹ also contains a caricature in which Dr. Charles, above whose head a birch-rod hangs on the wall, is represented as teaching spelling to his Royal pupil, while an imp takes a letter from the Duke to his mistress, and the devil puts a fool's cap upon his head. Dr. Charles is represented in bag-wig cassock and bands as though he

¹ *Oxford Magazine*, vol. v., 1770, p. 88.

were a clergyman. It is unfortunate that the nature of the remark which is represented as proceeding from the devil's mouth, makes the caricature unsuitable for reproduction.

The last phase in the history of the Duke of Cumberland with which we need concern ourselves occurred in 1771, when his clandestine marriage with Mrs. Horton led to the passing of the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.

In view of what has been said concerning Charles and "Junius," it is worth attention that in "Junius'" letter, signed "Cumbrensis," written in November 1771, in which the writer congratulates the Royal bridegroom, reference is made to "the uncommon education which your royal mother took care to give you."

It must be confessed that there are features in the history of George Charles which tend to make one disregard one half of the advice given by Lord Beaconsfield to a young man on the threshold of life, who had asked for some maxims of conduct, and to whom the Prime Minister replied, "If you are to succeed, never wish to discover the identity of the Man in the Iron Mask, and on no account inquire who wrote the letters of 'Junius.'"

The high mastership of George Charles is remarkable for the fact that in 1743 the first printed catalogue of the school library, apart from that in Knight's *Colet*, was issued. In this it is stated that, "all, or the greatest part, of the Books which have not the names of the Benefactors annexed or References thereto have been purchased since that Time (the great fire) by the Masters of the School, with the surplus of the Candle Money."

From this, we may remark in parenthesis, it appears that the boys at this time did not bring their own wax candles to the school, but bought them from some one at the school, probably the poor scholar or "porter-boy."

This catalogue contains the names of 830 volumes,

showing an increase of nearly 170 in the nineteen years which had elapsed since the compilation of the list printed by Knight. Some part of this increase was no doubt due to the bequest of fifty guineas received by the school library in 1741 from a distinguished Old Pauline, Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, Master of Trinity Hall. The school accounts show that in the year after this bequest had been paid, £12 9s. were spent on binding and gilding books, and the bill, amounting to £10 15s., is extant for printing and stitching three hundred copies of the catalogue, specimens of which are in the British Museum and at the school.

From the evidence given by the Mercers' Company to a Royal Commission in 1820¹ it appears that the salaries of the high master, surmaster and usher remained unchanged during the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century, a period which may be taken as practically covering the high masterships of Postlethwayt, Ayscough, Morland, Crumpe and Charles.

During the years from 1700 to 1749 the high master was paid £169 6s. 8d., of which £36 represented the statutory salary at a mark a week, and the value of a livery gown, as provided by the founder. The remainder of this sum was made up of gratuities paid by the Mercers at intervals during the year.

The surmaster's salary during the period named was £86 a year and the under usher, or chaplain, as he appears to have been called once again from 1713 to 1748, was paid during the stated period £51 13s. 6d. per annum.

The decline of St. Paul's in the middle of the eighteenth century synchronized with the period at which the Universities reached the lowest depth of attainments and discipline. Lord Chesterfield, writing of Oxford and Cambridge in 1749, said that "the one is sunk into the lowest obscurity,

¹ App. to 3rd Rep. of Commissioners of Charities, 1820.

and the existence of Oxford would not be known if it were not for the treasonable spirit publicly avowed, and often excited there."

The decrease in the number of boys at St. Paul's also finds numerous parallels in the history of the other public schools at about the same time.

In 1720 there were 353 boys at Eton College. There were fifty fewer names "in the bill" in the year after the South Sea Scheme of 1721. By 1740 the numbers had dwindled to 170. Twenty-five years later the numbers had risen to 522, but in 1773 they had once more dropped to 230, while in 1791 only fifty-five collegers were to be found in the seventy places on the foundation.

Winchester almost at the same time suffered so great an eclipse that in 1751 it included only eight commoners, while in 1793 the whole number of boys in the school, including scholars, was only sixty, although, as at Eton, the statutory number of scholars alone was seventy.

In 1721 there were 144 boys at Harrow, but there, too, the numbers steadily dwindled until the year 1746. Merchant Taylors' in 1760 contained only 116 boys instead of the statutory 250, while the numbers at Rugby in 1778 had shrunk to fifty-two.

Westminster alone maintained its numerical position. The decline in its numbers came early in the nineteenth century.



[John Hickey sc.

GEORGE THICKNESSE, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

[To face p. 328.

CHAPTER XVIII

'THE SECOND FOUNDER'

GEORGE THICKNESSE, HIGH MASTER 1748-1769

WITH the removal of Charles from the high mastership St. Paul's entered on a new career of prosperity. His successor, George Thicknesse, was the third son of John Thicknesse, rector of Farthinghoe, in Northamptonshire. His family, which came from Staffordshire, was not undistinguished, and one of his brothers was the well-known Philip Thicknesse, Governor of Landguard Fort, while another brother, Ralph by name, was an assistant master at Eton, who would undoubtedly have become Provost after Dr. Snape, but for his sudden death in 1742 at a concert at Bath, where he was playing first fiddle in a piece of music of his own composition.

George Thicknesse was educated on the foundation at Winchester. He did not proceed to New College, Oxford, and his name does not occur in the lists of graduates of either university. The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, whose account of the high master is very full, state that he graduated at Cambridge, after which "he was first an usher at Clare's Academy in Soho Square." The account goes on to say that "having the reputation of being one of the best classical scholars in England he opened an establishment for the tuition of youth in Charterhouse Square."

According to the registers of Winchester College, Thicknesse was baptized in 1714. He must, therefore, have

been about twenty-three years of age on his appointment as chaplain, six months after George Charles' election as high master. He held the chaplaincy for seven years, and in 1744 was elected surmaster. He is the last surmaster who has been promoted to the high mastership.

The great problem which confronted the new high master was that of filling the vacant places in the school, the number of boys in which had fallen to thirty-five. Within two months of his election he drew up a list of the boys, with the dates of their admissions, and in the following year a resolution of the Mercers' Company directed the high master to deliver yearly to the surveyor accountant a list of the scholars. These lists are extant up to the present time, but covering as they do less than a half of the time which has passed since the foundation of the school by Colet, there must be a large number of Paulines of more or less distinction all traces of whose education at the school has been lost.

We have seen that in 1742 the fifth and sixth forms had been amalgamated for lack of boys. Even in 1749 there was no material out of which to make a seventh or an eighth, so that the head of the sixth, a boy of fourteen, became captain. To remedy this state of affairs, according to the Mercers' minutes,¹ at a Court held on October 21, 1748, "The following written paper was presented to this Court by Wm. Dunster Esqr. Surveyor of Paul's School which was read and is in the words following vizt.—

"Mercers Hall London 21st. Octr. 1748.

"Doctor John Colet Dean of St. Paul's about the year 1512 erected a Grammar School near the East end of Paul's Church for One Hundred and Fifty three Children to be taught Gratis And He committed the Care of the said

¹ MS. in the possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

School to the Masters Wardens and Court of Assistants of the Company of Mercers of London who have lately made such Regulations in the said School that it is hoped it will soon regain its former Flourishing State. This Publication is made that the Inhabitants of London and others may have the benefits of this Generous and Useful Foundation according to the design of the Worthy Founder Who has made a very ample provision for the several Masters. They are therefore obliged by the Orders of the Court of Assistants agreeable to the Founders intentions not to demand or take any Money or Reward from the Parents or Friends of the Scholars but such as is allotted for Enterance which is one Shilling For encouragement of such Scholars that are diligent and improve in their Learning upon proper Certificates thereof and where it is needful the said Court of Assistants will grant Exhibitions for their Maintenance when they are fitt to go to one of the Universities. For admittance of Scholars and further Information Apply to the Clerk of the said Company of Mercers at their Hall in Cheapside London.

“By Order of the said Court of Assistants

“CHAR: CRUMPE.

“After reading thereof the Court Ordered that the same be published in the *Daily Advertizer* and *General Advertizer* three times in each paper for the Information of the Citizens of London and others.”

The results of this notice and the efforts of Thicknesse were such that in a single year the full statutory number of boys were in the school, and in June 1749 the Mercers had to pass a vote for extraordinary assistance to the usher owing to the undue number of boys in the lower forms.

A hundred and twenty-four boys entered the school in 1748, according to the registers, though the biographers of

Sir P. Francis say there were 145 entries in that year. Fifty-seven entered the school in 1749, and in 1750 thirty-three were admitted on the foundation, and twelve others in addition, while five years later the number of non-foundationers admitted within twelve months was exactly double that number. The admission of boys other than foundation scholars continued annually until the end of the eighteenth century, a large proportion were passed on to the foundation after having been in the school for two or three years.

It will not be out of place to give here some statistics of the school, derived from the registers, which begin at this time, dealing with the twenty-one years of Thicknesse's high mastership, which lasted from 1748 to 1769. The total number of boys admitted on the foundation was 947, making an average of forty-seven admissions a year, if we exclude 1748, the first year of his high mastership, in which the numbers of the foundation were filled by making 124 entries into the school. Taking the average of admissions as forty-seven, the mean duration of school life was somewhat less than three and a quarter years. Although the average age of admission was about ten, the minimum age was seven, and consequently a number of boys must have left the school at a very early age.

Though the number of boys in the upper classes increased, the total number of names in the first and second classes comprised about half of the school. The third and fourth comprised another quarter of the school, leaving about a quarter of the school for the four upper classes, each numbering about ten boys, which were at this time all under the high master.

In addition to the boys on the foundation, the school, as we have seen, comprised a number of non-foundationers. The details of these in the registers are very scanty, and the

lists are probably incomplete. Only their names are given, all mention of their ages or of their parentage being omitted. Of these, 133 were admitted during Thicknesse's term of office. Sixty-six, or almost exactly one half, were subsequently admitted to the foundation ; of those who did not gain admission to the foundation few reached the upper school. The years in which vacancies for the foundation were few are those, as might be expected, in which the number of non-foundations admitted was largest. In 1756, for example, only thirty-five boys were admitted to the foundation, the smallest number in any year during Thicknesse's rule, but twenty-four non-foundations were admitted, while in the years 1753 and 1754, in which respectively sixty-two and fifty boys were admitted to the foundation, no boys other than foundation scholars were admitted to the school.

St. Paul's under Thicknesse was to a far greater extent a city school than it has ever been since under his successors.

Out of the 950 boys admitted to the school by Thicknesse, only sixty-five, or about three a year, were not Londoners. Of these, twenty-seven were the sons of country parsons, while another twenty of the boys admitted during this high mastership were the sons of London clergy.

No mention of a porter boy appears in the accounts from 1745 to 1753. In that year Robert Brampton, the captain, held the post. From this time, with the single exception of Alan Eccles, in 1757-58, the captain appears to have acted as the porter boy, the admission fees being, no doubt, paid to him, a man being employed to clean the school.

The scanty nature of the records of boys educated at St. Paul's before the middle of the eighteenth century is in marked contrast with the condition of things which prevails at most of the other public schools.

There is a complete register of scholars at Winchester from 1393 to the present day, and the earliest long roll containing the names of commoners is dated 1653.

The earliest Eton School list which has been preserved, bearing the date 1678, contains 207 names, and after that year there are few lacunæ in the set of lists which is extant at the present time.

The register of Rugby School begins in 1675, more than seventy years, that is to say, before that of St. Paul's. The full register of admission to college at Westminster begins in 1666, but from the lists of Queen's Scholars the names of more than 300 boys who were at Westminster before 1603 have been brought to light.

The probation book of Merchant Taylors' School begins in 1607, but a manuscript which has been preserved gives the names of 600 pupils of Richard Mulcaster, who was head master for twenty-five years. Mulcaster was high master of St. Paul's for nearly half as long as he was at Merchant Taylors', but the names of only thirty-seven of his Pauline pupils have been identified.

It is surprising in view of the fact that the full registers of St. Paul's begin roughly a century later than those of most other schools of similar importance, that the names of so many Old Paulines of distinction have been preserved, but the fact cannot diminish our regret that the full record of the pupils of some of the greatest of our high masters, Langley, Cromleholme, Gale and Postlethwayt, has not been discovered.

The chief sources of information from 1565 to 1749 are the lists of Pauline and of Campden Exhibitioners, but the first gives only 264 names, and the second, covering little more than a hundred years, contains less than 70 names.

Unlike some schools, such as Charterhouse, St. Paul's has no livings in the gift of the governors from which

further information can be gleaned, but some 180 names in the first half of the eighteenth century have been recovered from the lists of stewards of the school feasts.

The publication of college registers, notably those of St. John's and Caius at Cambridge, have added to our information, but for the rest there are no means of establishing the place of education of Paulines before the middle of the eighteenth century, except such things as family letters, statements in early biographies, epitaphs, casual references in State papers and oral tradition.

In an anonymous booklet entitled, *Sketches and characters of the most eminent and singular persons now living*, which from internal evidence appears to have been written by the high master's eccentric brother, Captain Philip Thicknesse, and which was published at Bristol in 1770, there is an interesting reference to George Thicknesse. Under the heading, "Of those who have made a mean and contemptible figure in some action and circumstance of their lives," appears the following—

"Mr. T*****sse, high master of St. Paul's School, when he declined accepting any pecuniary recompence from the parents of the many young gentlemen, bred up under his care for upwards of twenty years, which is what none of his predecessors did; but it is hoped, an example his successors will follow."

From this it appears that the high masters who preceded Thicknesse received gratuities from the parents of the boys in the school, but it must be admitted that apart from the Christmas gift of one guinea, which in Morland's time appears to have been considered *de rigueur*, and the prohibition of the practice by the Mercers in Gale's time, no other evidence of the custom is known to be extant.

One reason, perhaps, for Thicknesse's refusal to be beholden to the parents of his scholars is to be found in the

fact that in the year after his appointment to the high mastership the salaries of the masters, which had remained stationary for fifty years, were raised.

The high master after 1749 was paid £210 instead of £169 a year as heretofore.¹ The surmaster's payment was £120 instead of £86, and the salary of the usher was raised from £51 to £80 per annum, while at the same time the allowance made to each of the three for livery gowns was doubled.

Joshua Tillotson, who had been chaplain under Charles, became surmaster under Thicknesse. His successor, Samuel Ely, who was styled usher and not chaplain, is seen from the school accounts to have been occupying the high master's house in 1752, three years after his appointment. Philip Francis speaks of him as a boarding-house master, but it is not known whether he kept the house for the high master or had a few boarders in his own small house adjoining the surmaster's. He died in 1761, and was succeeded by William Rider, who, on the death of Tillotson two years later, was promoted to the surmastership, and combined with that office the post of chaplain to the Mercers' Company. He edited an English dictionary, a family Bible in three volumes, and a history of England, and retained his post at St. Paul's for over twenty years, surviving Thicknesse and working under Roberts for sixteen years.

Joseph Champion, who was an Old Pauline educated under George Charles, was "Accomptant and Writing Master to St. Paul's School" in 1751. The writing of his pupils was so much alike that it became known as the "Pauline hand." Among the boys whom he taught were Philip Francis and H. S. Woodfall, afterwards the editor of the *Public Advertiser*, in which the "Letters of Junius" appeared.

In 1755 Thicknesse revived the school feast which had

¹ App. to 3rd Rep. on Chars., 1820.

been in abeyance for twenty-seven years, no celebration having occurred during the high masterships of Crumpe or Charles.

In that year a pompous, high-flown sermon was preached by Dr. John Fearon, sometime Fellow of Sidney, and private chaplain to a noble lady, in which he spoke of "friends long endeared to each other coming to this voluntary assembly to interchange & communicate a generous gratulation." The sermon of the following year, preached by Daniel Bellamy, is not of any interest, but Thomas Fairchild, who preached in 1757, declared that "Our grateful sentiments must be extended to those who have provided to the enlarging this plan of education to a far superior degree, near twenty Exhibitions having been left to the disposal of the Mercers' Company for the benefit of the Students chosen to the Universities who might not otherwise have been able to have maintained themselves ; the more peculiar of which are the benefactions of the Lord Campden and the Lady North, and some others which though numerous in themselves this body have most prudently consolidated."

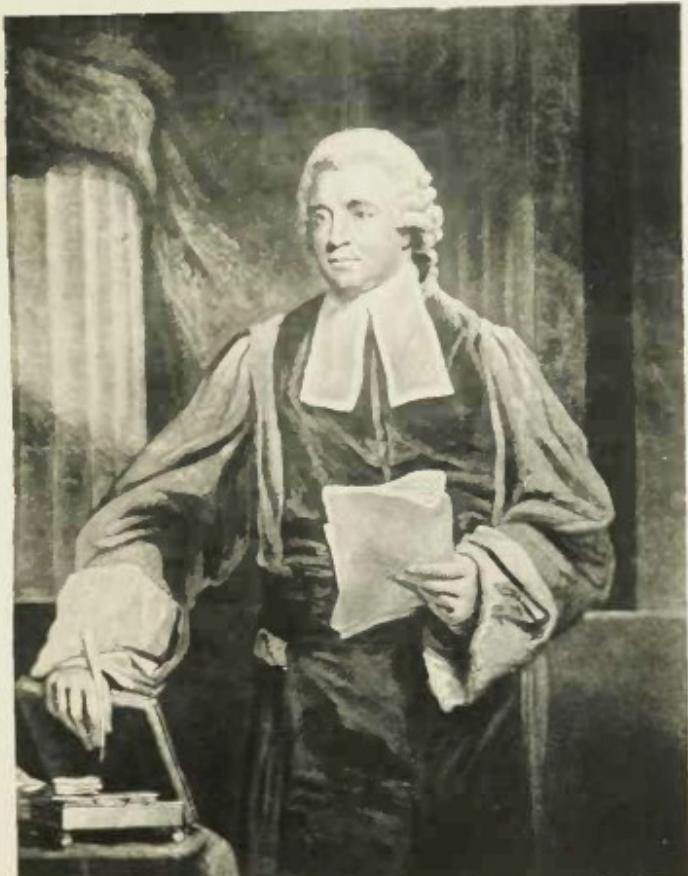
From this date none of the sermons have been found in print, and hence it has been conjectured that the school feast was discontinued in 1757 and was never again revived. That this was not the case is shown by the references in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* to meetings in 1791 and 1792 in connection with the memorial bust of Thicknesse, the first of which is very explicit and undoubtedly refers to the annual school feast, speaking as it does of "a public meeting of 81 gentlemen at their anniversary on St. Paul's day January 25th."

A contemporary account of Thicknesse describes him as "a man of great learning wisdom and moderation. He considered boys as rational beings, and to be governed by

reason, not by the rod : and without its use that School by his incessant assiduity was raised to the highest reputation." It may be that it was this tender propensity of the high master, of which he heard from his intimate friend and medical attendant, Dr. Lawrence, President of the College of Physicians, whose son was at St. Paul's, that inspired Dr. Johnson to declare : "There is now less flogging in our great schools than formerly, but then less is learned there : so that what the boys gain at one end they lose at the other." Not even Johnson himself, however, could complain of the lack of education enjoyed by Soulden Lawrence. He was admitted to the school as a non-foundationer, but in two years passed on to the foundation, and seven years later proceeded with a Pauline Exhibition to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as seventh wrangler and was elected Fellow. Having practised successfully at the Bar and assumed the coif, he was elevated to the Bench, where he sat for more than a quarter of a century, first in the Common Pleas, then in the King's Bench, and then again in the Common Pleas. He gained the reputation of being a judge of great ability and independence of mind.

Thickness, who was never married, appears from a note by one of his old pupils, who speaks of him as "our beloved George Thickness," to have suffered from temporary mental derangement in the year 1759.¹ He had returned to his duties early in the following year, for the same writer recalls the fact of his presence at the Apposition of 1760. He retained his post for nine years longer, and appears to have deserved the eulogy pronounced upon him by the biographers of Sir Philip Francis, who declared that "he was a superior scholar, a sagacious, conscientious and

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1814, vol. lxxxiv. 2, 629.



J. Hoppner pinx.

C. Turner sc.

SIR SOULDEN LAWRENCE, JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH

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laborious tutor. A true disciplinarian, he was a just, kind, and considerate master beloved by his pupils. The Paulines of his mastership were reputed superior Latinists and Grecians, many of them in after life becoming eminent in the learned professions and successful in trade and commerce."

The Mercers' Company refused to accept the resignation of Thickness except on the one condition that he should nominate his successor, thereby paying him an even greater tribute than they had paid to Langley a hundred years earlier, when they appointed Cromleholme as his successor on the dying high master's unsolicited recommendation.

He retired with a pension of £100 a year from the Mercers' Company, and lived in a country house in Warwickshire with a Wykehamist school-fellow until the death of the latter two years later. He then became the tenant of the manor house of Arlescote, where he remained until his death, in the enjoyment of an annuity of £50, settled upon him by his Warwickshire friend, in addition to the pension which he drew from the Mercers' Company.

An autograph letter from Sir Philip Francis, dated from Upper Harley Street, January 20, 1785, which is preserved in the school library, deserves quotation *in extenso* for more reasons than one.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I received the favour of your letter, with a real sensation of Pleasure, but not unmixed with some uneasiness. I cannot but feel, that it was *my* part and Duty to have recalled myself long ago to your Remembrance. But tho' I condemn myself for Neglect, believe me I have never ceased to think of you, as of my Friend and Benefactor.

You have the best Claim to my Gratitude & a Right to every Service in my Power.

"I called at your Brother's lodgings yesterday, wishing to see him before I answered Your Letter ; but he was not at home. Not knowing the Situation of his son I have no Idea how I can be of use to him. You will easily conceive that, in the present Circumstances I can have no Interest with the Admiralty & I can assure you that my Interest at the India House is worse than negative. In that quarter I and all who belong to me are proscribed. I did what I could to save the Body Corporate from Ruin and that was not the way to gain the Friendship of individuals. Mr. Hastings took the opposite course and has succeeded accordingly. I cannot but be touched with the account you give me of your own Situation. I well know how heavily the public Burthens press in every Sense and Direction on moderate and even upon considerable Fortunes ; at least such as used to be thought so. The Idea of Your being forced to quit a House which I am told you find comfortable makes me very uneasy ; and you will do me a great favour, if you will allow me to obviate the necessity of such a step ; which I seriously believe you would not feel more than I should. For the purpose of answering the last taxes I have taken the liberty of inclosing to you a Bank Note of twenty Pounds which in future as long as You and I live, You shall regularly receive in the beginning of every Year. I entreat you not to refuse this little mark of my Gratitude and affection for you ; and much more earnestly do I intreat you, not to attribute this offer to any motive, that ought to disincline you to me.

"I shall learn from your brother what parts of my Speeches he has sent you in order that I may supply you with the remainder. If there be any good in them I deem it to be principally due to your early Instruction. I mean

to send you from time to time anything that may be worth your notice or likely to amuse you.

"I am with the sincerest Affection and Esteem

" Dear Sir

" Your most obliged and faithful servant

" P. FRANCIS.

" I beg of you to make whatever Use of my Privilege you think fit without the smallest scruple.

" Mr. George Thicknesse."

The occasion of this letter was in part Thicknesse's approaching removal from the house at Mollington, where he had resided since the death of his friend, Mr. Holbeach. The letter is inserted in a copy of *Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William*, a companion volume to which is a collection of the speeches of Francis from 1784 to 1786, containing a few notes and corrections in the author's handwriting. Their presence in the library at the school is explained by a letter from Thicknesse written nearly twenty years after his retirement and four years before his death to his successor, Richard Roberts, which is also preserved.

" DEAR SIR,

" This parcel comes to you with my earnest wish that the contents of it may be carefully preserved in the library of St. Paul's School in which I promise myself you will oblige me, when you have read the manuscript letter within the Quarto. Whatever sentiments you may have in this dispute about Mr. Hastings (for I find there is now variety in it) yet I beg you would indulge me with the treasuring these writings and Speeches, which come from my friend Mr. Francis. You will think, I am sure, they come from a very able hand, and I think a very honest one.

I guess too, if you form any judgement at all about Indian affairs, we do not much differ in our opinions about Mr. H. or any of his predecessors. I hear of you now and then when a Paul's scholar calls on me, or when your examiner, whose name I cannot now recollect, sometimes calls on me. I beg you would mention me to your Brother, with great regard, and believe me to be, dear Sir,

“Your very affectionate

“and very humble servant

“GEORGE THICKNESSE.

“Arescote (*sic* for Arlescote)

“Jan. 17, 1787.”

The somewhat singular provisions which Thicknesse left concerning his burial, are to be found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*.¹ “Humility distinguished every part of his life, but particularly the last act of it; for he directed his body to be put into a common coffin, like a common man, (for such, said he, I am,) and to be buried on the north side of Warmington churchyard, without any memorial to mark the spot; where (to use the words of Sir Philip Francis, K.B., who was his scholar) the wisest, the most learned, quiet, and the best man he ever knew was laid. His virtues made those who were connected with him happy; his temper made himself so. That vulgar celebrity which men call fame he regarded with indifference. . . . But while he lived he heard with pleasure that his name was remembered with an affectionate veneration by his numerous scholars at their annual meetings. Though he is now beyond the reach of their gratitude, his claim to it did not end with his life. Something remained to be done for an example to those who come after us, to unite the memory of this incomparable man with the existence of that school,

¹ Vol. ix. p. 255.



J. Hoppner pinx.

[H. Adlard sc.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, K.C.B.

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and to preserve them together as long as learning shall exist in this kingdom. This grateful duty was performed in 1791, when at a public meeting of eighty-one gentlemen at their anniversary on St. Paul's day, January 25, it was unanimously resolved 'That a public testimony should be given of their respect to the memory of the late Rev. George Thicknesse, and of their veneration for his name : that a marble bust be carved at the expense of the meeting, and placed in the body of the school ; and that it be earnestly recommended to the present and all future Masters of the school, to instruct the scholars of the upper classes, to make honourable mention of the name and character of Mr. Thicknesse immediately after that of Dean Colet, in their annual speeches delivered in the school at Easter.'

The outcome of this resolution is to be found in a letter from Sir Philip Francis to Edmund Burke, dated January 21, 1792.

"**MY DEAR MR. BURKE,**¹

"I am sure I need make no apology for requesting you to assist me in an act of piety and gratitude to the memory of one of the best and most learned men of his time, the late Mr. George Thicknesse. In the narrow sphere allotted to him, I can affirm with certainty that it was impossible to exhibit greater qualifications of every kind, or to do more good to mankind, than he did. Judge not of his learning and abilities, though you may of his virtue and wisdom, by the obscurity in which he passed this life, and escaped out of it *Natus moriensque fefellit.*

"'He claimed no honour from descent of blood,
But that which made him noble, made him good.'

"In the little circle of his friends I never knew a man

¹ *Correspond. of the Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.,* ed. by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 376-8.

so much respected. By his scholars universally he was beloved and reverenced. Even they who neglected his instructions, or forgot his precepts, were tenderly and dutifully attached to his person. Your friend Hickey has succeeded in the bust beyond my expectation ; considering that he had nothing but a very indifferent old picture to copy from, and had never seen the original. The performance does him so much credit, and he has taken such pains with it, that we, the managers, are perfectly satisfied, and have agreed for his honour, to let it appear at the exhibition, before it is erected in the school. Some of us pretended scholars have been humming our brains for an inscription ; but what signifies malleation without fire ? Be so good as to lend us a little of yours. One of the faults of the inclosed essays is, that it is too long for the tablet. Do you see if you can mend it, or make it better, and let me have your answer by to-morrow's or Monday's post. All this family, jointly and severally, desire their most affectionate duty and dutiful affection, to be presented to Mrs. Burke and yourself.

“Yours abundantly,

“P. FRANCIS.

“P.S. Observe, we are obliged to mix the honours of the school with the eulogy of one of its greatest masters, of whom, Lilly was the first, appointed by Dean Colet.”

Burke's answer to this letter is to be found in the *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B.*¹

“Monday Morning, January 23, 1792.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I thank you for the honour you have done me in thinking that my obsolete and worn-out ideas of classical expression can be of any use to you. Such as they are they

¹ Edited by J. Parkes and B. Merivale, 1867, vol. ii. p. 284.

are at your service. I have scribbled in your margin a trifling note or two. I have likewise scribbled over the same thoughts with yours, which I thought so far from contracting, to give a dignity to the subject, ought rather to be expanded. Certainly it is the very best style of antiquity, in all eulogies, to exalt the place of birth and education ; and the dignity of the art in the object of an¹ . . . cultivated, and the splendour of his progenitors or predecessors. I think you have said more of Mr. Thicknesse in your conversations with me than is said in the inscription. I have endeavoured to express it. In the latter part I was interrupted by the bad news which takes me to town—the great danger of the life of an old and invaluable friend. If my stock was greater, the loss would still be most grievous. I can say, write, or think nothing more. Alas ! All that is said there would be truly said upon another tomb.

" Dear sir,

" Very sincerely yours,

" EDM. BURKE."²

After being shown in "the exhibition," by which, no doubt, Francis meant the Royal Academy, the bust was placed in the great hall of the school. When the school was rebuilt in 1824, it was transferred to the high master's house, and it was probably at this time that the inscription, the joint work of Francis and Burke, was lost. In Ackerman's aquatint, dated 1816, a tablet appears hanging above the bust. The result of this loss was that the bust of Thicknesse became confounded in later years with one of his successor, Dr. Roberts. Thomas Hickey, a brother of John Hickey, the sculptor, painted a portrait of Roberts, and this fact led to confusion on the part of Nicholas Carlisle, who, in his *Endowed Grammar Schools*, published in

¹ Lacuna in the MS.

² N. and Q., ser. 8. vol. ix. p. 148.

College, Cambridge, and of the yearly value of £10, to be held during good behaviour until they were of M.A. standing.

In 1756, the library, which was at that time situated at the south end of the school-room adjoining the surmaster's house, was adorned with busts of Homer, Virgil, Milton, Bacon, Locke and Newton. Of these, that of Milton alone, if, indeed, it be the identical bust, survives. At a later date a bust of Colet, by Mr. Fournier, was added, as were also those of four Old Paulines, Marlborough, Camden, Halley, and Robert Nelson.

A far more important gift to the library was made by a boy in the school in 1759, who presented the MS. of Dean Colet's abstract of the *Hierarchies of Dionysius*. Nothing more than this is known concerning the acquisition by the school of this, the only MS. of the founder, which is in the library : and of the donor, Robert Emmot, the son of a hat-maker in the Borough, the only information which we possess is gleaned from a passing reference by one W. P., in a number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* half a century later,¹ in which the writer says that when he left St. Paul's at the Apposition of 1760, the three boys who were above him, and whom he had never seen since that date, were Iltyd Nichol, the captain, Emmot and Toosey.

Another interesting relic of this period possessed by the library consists of the edition of 1750, in six volumes, of the translation of the *Iliad* for which Pope was

“Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive,”

which contains the autographs of Dr. Francis, the translator of *Horace*, and of his son, Sir Philip Francis, who signs himself in each volume “of St. Paul's School, 1754.” A further interest is attached to these volumes, which must have been used by Thicknesse's distinguished pupil in his

¹ Vol. clxxxiv., pt. ii. p. 629.

second year at St. Paul's, from the fact that they were presented to the school by his grandson, Mr. Philip Francis.

In a volume of the periodical entitled, *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, there appears under the date March 17, 1768, a paragraph which deserves to be quoted as being the first known account in the public Press of an Apposition at St. Paul's. "Tuesday, the young Gentlemen on the foundation of St Paul's School were publicly examined in the different parts of literature ; after which the eight senior youths made several speeches in Latin, Greek and English before a numerous and polite assembly in the school ; one speech in particular, which was received with great applause, on the following question, viz. 'Ought virtue to show itself most in prosperity or adversity ?' At the same time Mr Filmer, one of the senior scholars, was elected to Christ Church College, in Oxford, on the usual exhibition of that noble and well-endowed school."

There is reason to believe that Thicknesse revived the old tradition of acting at St. Paul's, but the only play of the production of which there is any record is the *Adelphi* of Terence, which was played on February 3, 1761.

One of the most distinguished of Thicknesse's pupils was John Fisher, who, after graduating while a Pauline Exhibitioner of Peterhouse as tenth wrangler, was elected Fellow of St. John's. He was soon after appointed a Royal Chaplain and Deputy Clerk of the Closet. Mrs. Piozzi describes him as "a charming creature generally known in society as the King's Fisher." His position as tutor to the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, led to a lasting intimacy which is reflected in the personal reminiscences of childhood of the late Queen, written in 1872, which are prefixed to the recently issued volumes of her correspondence,¹

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by Lord Esher and A. C. Benson, vol. i. p. 14.



Dodd del.

[Cook sc.

MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ

[To face p. 348.

"I had a great horror of *Bishops* on account of their wigs and *aprons*, but recollect this being partly got over in the case of the then Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Fisher) by his kneeling down and letting me play with his badge of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter." After occupying a prebendal stall at Windsor, Fisher went to Exeter, first as Archdeacon and then as Bishop, and from that See he was after four years translated to Salisbury, where he died eighteen years later in 1825. Samuel Parr wrote of him—

"Unsoiled by Courts and unseduced by zeal
Fisher endangers not the public weal."

Very different from that of Fisher was the career of the Old Pauline whose name, John Villette, occurs next to his in the admission registers. He spent over thirty years of his life as Ordinary of Newgate, and must have attended many hundreds of criminals to the scaffold, for in the eighteenth century, no less than two hundred crimes ranked as capital offences. There is every reason to suppose that he attended in his last moments an Old Pauline, William Jobbins by name, nineteen years of age, who in 1790 was hanged for arson and robbery.¹ He certainly ministered to Timothy Brecknock, a Westminster boy, and "Fighting Fitzgerald," an Etonian, who were hanged for murder four years earlier. Villette's reputation must rest on the testimonial of Dr. Johnson, to the effect that "his extraordinary diligence is highly praiseworthy, and merits a distinguished reward."

Two of the pupils of Thicknesse who entered the school within eight years of each other during the last years of this high mastership, lived to become distinguished commanders at sea at the time when naval supremacy was paramount in the struggle against Napoleon.

The elder of these, Sir Frederick Thesiger, the son of Lord Rockingham's private secretary, before entering the

¹ Nov. 20, 1790. Newgate Calendar.

British Navy was in the service of the East India Company, which he left to enter the Russian Navy, in which he rose to the rank of captain and fought against Sweden, gaining the order of knighthood of St. George of Russia. His knowledge of Russian proved very valuable to his own country on his entering its navy, and in his capacity of *aide-de-camp* to Viscount Nelson at the battle of Copenhagen, he was chosen by the admiral to convey the overtures for a truce to the Crown Prince of Denmark.

Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, who entered St. Paul's at the age of ten, left the school in the fifth form. He was in the navy in 1773, and probably went straight from school to sea. He was present as a prisoner on a French admiral's flagship at Lord Howe's famous engagement on June 1, 1794, and was prevented by ill fortune from taking part in the battle of the Nile. The high reputation which he had earned, and the great importance of his services in Mediterranean waters, where he blockaded Civita Vecchia, and took the city of Rome, earned for him in 1799 a baronetcy and the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit. Shortly after he took his seat at the Board of Admiralty, and having attained the rank of rear-admiral, hoisted his flag on the *Blenheim*, which was lost with all hands in the Indian Ocean. Nelson bestowed on Troubridge what was, perhaps, the highest praise paid by him to any man when speaking of him in a private letter to Earl St. Vincent, he said, "I trust you will not take him from me. I know well he is my superior, and I often want his advice and assistance."

The name of Major John André, who was a pupil of Thicknesse, is for some unaccountable reason not to be found in the registers of the school. After leaving St. Paul's and completing his education at Geneva, he entered the army at the age of twenty in 1771, and by remarkably rapid promotion rose to be brigadier-major in nine years. He served



Sir William Beechey pinx.

[W. Holl sc.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS TROBRIDGE, BART.

[To face p. 350.

as adjutant-general of the British forces serving under Sir Henry Clinton in America, and having been sent to conclude terms with General Arnold, who wished treacherously to betray West Point to the English, he was captured, tried as a spy and executed. Washington wished to concede to him that he should meet his death as a soldier by being shot, but sterner councils prevailed, and he was hanged after having said to the bystanders, "I have only to request the gentlemen present to bear testimony that I met my death as a brave man." The news of his death was received with great indignation in England, and as a mark of the universal respect in which his memory was held, his brother was made a baronet. Forty years later his body was transported to England and buried with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey, close to the monument erected by one of the brothers Adam, which George III had erected to his memory two years after his death. A memorial erected on the site of his gallows by an American citizen a hundred years after his death bears an inscription by Dean Stanley, which states,¹ "His death, though according to the stern code of war, moved even his enemies to pity, and both armies mourned the fate of one so young and so brave."

One of the earliest pupils of Thicknesse, William Parsons by name, became well known as an actor and as a painter. He was early discovered by Garrick, with whom he often acted at Drury Lane, his first appearance being in the part of Filch in *The Beggar's Opera*. His great success in depicting the characters of old men earned for him the title of "the Comic Roscius," and he is said to have been, in comedy, the worthy rival of Garrick.

In view of the interest always maintained by Sir Philip Francis in St. Paul's, comparatively little is known concerning his school-days. He entered in 1753, at the age of

¹ *Pauline*, vol. ix., No. 48, May 1891, p. 103.

twelve, and apparently boarded in the house of Samuel Ely, the usher, who may have maintained a separate boarding house at this date, although from the Mercers' accounts it appears that in 1752 he was living in the high master's house. In an undated letter, written apparently in the early part of the boy's school-days, Dr. Francis wrote to his son—

"I rejoice with you at being so long head of your class, and I hope you will enjoy your superiority over your class-fellows by condescension, compliance, and if they desire it by assisting them. . . . As to moving into a higher Form I could not wish you would press Mr Thicknesse by showing any impatience in your desire. Think, my dear Phil, that it is not being in any particular place, but the figure you shall make there, that gives the distinction of honour." The boy's eagerness to move rapidly up the school was satisfied, as appears from the fact that in the school lists for March 1754, his name appears just below that of Henry Sampson Woodfall, as the last in the Eighth, a form into which no doubt he had just been moved. In a few months' time he became third boy in his form, and during the year which preceded his leaving, 1755-56, he was captain of the school.

He is said to have acted as private secretary to Pitt while still a boy at St. Paul's. His subsequent career at the War Office, as Member of the Council in Bengal, as Member of Parliament, reputed author of the "Letters of Junius" and Manager of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, is too well known to need more than a passing reference.

The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, who state that St. Paul's under Thicknesse received pupils from all parts of the kingdom, speaking of the high master, declare that—

"He was beloved by all his pupils, and retained their grateful & affectionate friendship to the close of his life. His discrimination of the moral and intellectual natures of

his different scholars was one of his highest qualifications for a teacher of youth. He was accustomed to say that the boys of the school were not like the bricks of the school-house, all moulded in one form ; that his pupils differed widely in powers and direction of mind, in temper and in temperament, and in the physical conditions of health : that some boys had no talent for the acquisition of the dead languages, and that a Master must be content with their elementary instruction, as the cane and the birch would not alter nature."

In this connection it is worth noting that Thicknessse always mentioned Philip Francis and Philip Rosenhagen as the most naturally clever and the best scholars of his whole career as high master, but Rosenhagen, he said, had neither perseverance nor moral conduct, while Francis had both.

The career of Rosenhagen, the son of a gentleman of Danish descent, bore out the presages of his school-master. He was captain of the school a year before Francis, and having graduated as ninth wrangler, was elected Fellow of St. John's College. Soon after he became chaplain to Lord Chesterfield, and Dr. Johnson's celebrated epigram appears to have been as applicable to the parson as to the "peerless peer of manners and congees." He became a regimental chaplain, and while living in Paris "dressed in hat and feather, silk coat, red-heeled shoes, and all the foppery of a *petit maître*," he met Francis, and told his school-fellow that since he mixed in the best society he could not appear in the dowdy dress of an English parson.

In 1784 Rosenhagen's convivial character made him a *persona grata* in the circle surrounding the Prince of Wales, and the latter endeavoured to induce the congenial clergyman to marry him to Mrs. Fitzherbert, but the price offered for this dangerous act was not sufficiently high.

Rosenhagen next endeavoured to persuade Lord North

CHAPTER XIX

THE LONGEST HIGH MASTERSHIP

RICHARD ROBERTS, HIGH MASTER 1769-1814

RICHARD ROBERTS, the nominee of the retiring high master who was appointed by the Mercers to succeed him, was educated at St. Paul's under George Charles, in the days in which Thicknesse was surmaster. He is the last Old Pauline who has been elected high master. Of his career before coming to St. Paul's as high master remarkably little is known. He was born in 1729, consequently he must have been in his sixteenth year when he entered Jesus College, Oxford, as a servitor. He held a Pauline Exhibition from 1749-51. Nothing whatever is known of his career between that date and the year 1769, in which he was elected high master. His tenure of that post for forty-five years is memorable in the history of the school in so far as he held it for a longer period than any other high master before his time or since ; but it is remarkable that he is the only high master for the last hundred and fifty years of whom no account is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He took his D.D. degree four years after being appointed high master, but, unlike his two immediate successors, received no recognition from his ecclesiastical superiors in the shape of a stall in the cathedral.

For the first twenty-one years of Roberts' rule, St. Paul's flourished extremely. In 1773 an additional assistant master had to be appointed to teach the fifth and sixth

classes, but he was paid by the high master out of his own salary until 1786. From the date of Roberts' appointment until 1790 the full number of foundation scholars appears to have been steadily maintained, while in these twenty-one years eighty-two boys other than those on the foundation were admitted, a small number when compared with the hundred and twenty-four who were admitted in the nineteen years of Thicknesse's high mastership. Of Roberts' non-foundations only eighteen were subsequently admitted to the foundation, a figure which is in great contrast with the sixty-three non-foundation scholars of Thicknesse who were promoted to the foundation after admission to the school.

St. Paul's, Westminster and Merchant Taylors' all suffered a decline at the end of the eighteenth century. The only London school that flourished throughout the reign of George III was Charterhouse.

After 1790 there occurred a gradual diminution in the number of boys at St. Paul's. In 1797 there were only ninety-seven, and in 1804 only ninety-one; but the period of decline at St. Paul's was very short. From that year there was an increase in numbers, and in 1814, the year of Dr. Roberts' resignation, the full number of places in the school were filled. After 1791 no boys were placed on the foundation who had not entered the school in that capacity, and from the year 1790 until 1806 only twenty-three non-foundations were admitted. After that year the admission of boys other than those on the foundation was stopped, and the school was limited as to its numbers to the statutory hundred and fifty and three, a rule which lasted until the year 1877.

About ten per cent. of the boys admitted to the school by Roberts proceeded to the Universities, and St. Paul's under his rule reasserted itself as a great public, as opposed

to a local metropolitan school, as is shown by the fact that of boys who were not Londoners nearly twice as large a proportion passed through the school in the high mastership of Roberts as in that of Thicknesse.

The power of maintaining discipline appears to have been quite beyond the attainments of Dr. Roberts. One account of the school¹ in his time declares that, "never was there a more uproarious crew than the boys of St. Paul's, when, after forty years of thrashing them, Dr. Roberts retired on a pension." Barham relates how his friend, Charles Diggle, who in time became a major-general in the army, used to steal the shoe-laces of Isaac Hill, the high master's assistant, and avowed his intention of continuing the robbery until he had enough to extend the seventy feet of the length of the school-room, but unfortunately he left before he had done so. The same two boys went into a Quakers' meeting, Diggle with a jam tart, which he held up saying, "Whoever speaks first shall have this pie." To this a solemn Quaker said, "Friend, go thy way," whereupon Diggle replied "The pie's yours," and rushed out into the street.

An anonymous account of the school under Roberts, which was, without a doubt, written by one of his pupils just fifty years ago, deserves, from its picturesque style, to be quoted *in extenso*. "A regular curiosity," it says, "was Roberts, a venerable-looking man, at least in his last days, seeming scarce more lively than his bust, which now adorns the school-room, except when plying the cane; and on such occasions he was wonderfully active, as if inspired by new life. He wore a suit of rusty black, never wholly buttoned up, so as to shew his shirt, with an enormous steel watch chain, and a hat to which a three year old one would appear quite fresh and juvenile. At seven o'clock on a

¹ *Leisure Hour*, 1860, p. 618.

winter's morning, the shivering scholars assembled with sixpenny tapers in japanned boxes and fingers below freezing point, no fires being at any time allowed. At half-past seven magister crawled in, but in complete déshabillé with a blue nose, ludicrously winking his eyelids to keep them open. Having seated himself at a desk with black props opposite the pupil's face, the latter strove to fix upon the said props within convenient distance, a duplicate of the lesson to be delivered. If this trick could not be performed, some auxiliary would inevitably puff out the doctor's taper, upon which like a giant aroused from slumber he would cut away right and left in the dark, assailing face and limbs indiscriminately. If any noise arose which could not be traced to the noise maker, he invariably chastised the head boy of every class, as a kind of practical lecture on the dangers of eminence. He had the ugly habit, also of tying two or three canes together, thus making a bouquet of the implements, when there was any special amount of cudgelling to be dispensed."¹ With all his flogging, however, Roberts failed to suppress "the practice of boys from every part of the school-room throwing books at the head of any one, whoever he was, who entered the school-room with his hat on his head." On the other hand, there is ample evidence of Roberts' power of inspiring the respect of his pupils.

Richard Harris Barham, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, better known as the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, was captain of the school in 1806, and refers somewhere to Lucretius as—

"An author that gave me no trifling vexation,
When a youngster at school on Dean Colet's foundation."

Barham was the first captain of the school to receive a grant of thirty guineas, which was continued annually till 1876. His son who, like himself, was an Old Pauline, in

¹ *Leisure Hour*, 1860, p. 618.

his biography of "Thomas Ingoldsby," describes the kindness with which his father was nursed by Dr. Roberts and his wife, in whose house he was a boarder, when his arm was severely crushed through the upsetting of the Dover mail on his way up to school from Canterbury.¹ The school library possesses a MS. ode by Ingoldsby on "Jerry," his favourite cat.

A much earlier pupil of Roberts', who was also at Harrow, and who became the brother-in-law of his school-fellow Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was William Linley, who, after spending sixteen years in the service of the East India Company, became joint-owner with Sheridan of Drury Lane Theatre, and was well known as a composer, dramatist, novelist and minor poet. A copy of one of his forgotten novels,² which is in the British Museum, contains on the fly-leaf the following inscription, dated 1810, twenty-five years after he had entered the school : "This book is respectfully presented by the author, W. Linley, to Dr and Mrs Roberts in grateful recollection of favours conferred upon him, and the important advantages derived from an education under the Doctor's uniformly able and zealous tuition to which any little merit the work may possess is principally owing."³

Another interesting sidelight thrown upon Roberts is to be found in a letter of William Cowper,⁴ dated April 30, 1785, just after the publication of *John Gilpin*, in which he says, "The head master of St Paul's School (who he is I know not) has conceived, in consequence of the entertainment that John has afforded him, a vehement desire to write

¹ *Life of R. H. Barham*, by R. H. D. Barham.

² *The Adventure of Ralph Roybridge*, 1809, 12mo, 4 vols.

³ His portrait as a handsome boy, painted while he was at St. Paul's, which is in the Dulwich College Gallery, is one of the masterpieces of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.

⁴ "Life of Cowper" and *Pauline*, vol. xx., No. 131, p. 72.

re-discovered in 1804, a year in which the company went carefully into the accounts of the school. In that year, to quote the Report of the Royal Commission on the Livery Companies of the City of London¹—

“An old cash book of 1713-14 was found shewing that at the close of the surveyor-accountant's account of the school for the year there was a balance due from the Company to the school of £13,351 7s. 4½d. On investigation it was found that in 1745 the debt owing from the Company to the school was £34,637. In 1806 the Company charged themselves with this debt. In 1808 £5,000 was invested in 3 per cent. annuities, and from 1814 £2,000 was invested every year till the whole debt was liquidated, which occurred in 1824.”

We have already had occasion to refer to the two occasions on which, during the high mastership of Thicknesse, the school exhibitions were increased in value. The following notice, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, under the date March 11, 1772, of the third Apposition in the mastership of Roberts, shows that a further increase followed very soon after those of 1752 and 1754.

“The young gentlemen of St. Paul's School spoke their annual orations before a numerous audience, with universal applause. They passed their examinations with such honour that the worshipful Company of Mercers have, as a reward to their merit, and an encouragement to their further improvement, enlarged their exhibitions out of the encrease of the founder's estate from twenty to thirty pounds yearly, during the first three years of their college residence, and, after taking their degree, to forty.”

A resolution to the above effect is contained in the MS. transcript of the Mercers' minutes, from which quotation has so often been made in this book, and the last entry in

¹ 1884, vol. ii. p. 37

the MS. is dated exactly a year later—March 11, 1773—and runs, “The Court taking into Consideration what might be a proper time for Scholars to be in St. Paul’s School before the petition for Exhibitions Resolved and Ordered that no Scholar that shall hereafter be admitted into St. Paul’s School shall be permitted to Petition for an Exhibition until he shall have been full Four years in the School upon the Foundation by the Appointment of the Surveyor for the time being.” It is interesting to observe that this is a mere re-enactment of the resolution of 1633, which in 1698 had been relaxed by making the necessary period three years.

In 1802 the value of the Campden Exhibitions was raised from £10 a year each to £50 each, tenable for seven years. In 1810 it was decided that there should be six exhibitions of £100 a year each, but in 1812 it was resolved that only one should be given annually.

In 1780, by the will of John Stock, citizen and draper of London, there were founded scholarships at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as a tribute of “respect to the Merit and Reputation of an eminent Grammar School of the City of London, viz. St. Paul’s Grammar School in St. Paul’s Churchyard.” The testator required that the boys benefiting under his will should have been at St. Paul’s for three or four years.

In 1782, owing to the fact that the buildings were under repair, the school was held in Blacksmiths’ Hall in Upper Thames Street. The chief external alteration made in the school building in this year was to enlarge the uppermost storeys of the two masters’ houses, no doubt for the accommodation of boarders. The central arched window, which appears above the cornice supported by scrolls and with a balustrade above it in the views of the school up to the year 1754, is seen, in those engraved after the year

1783, to have been replaced by three square attic windows with a slated roof above them.

According to a writer who described the collections of books in the city of London in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ in 1790, the library of St. Paul's at that date "upon the whole was on the decay," and it is of interest in this connection to quote from some lines found after his death among the papers of Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, which were written in his handwriting, with a footnote stating that they were composed by a school-fellow.²

"Dr. Rob . . . s complains that the books have been lost,
The books of St. Paul's School, stole mangled and lost :
And loudly inveighs 'gainst the rogue in the dark,
And vows if he find him he'll punish the spark."

Point is given to these lines by the fact that from the catalogue published in 1809, the year in which Alfred Ollivant entered the school, it appears that the library contained only 789 volumes, while in 1743 the number of volumes had been 830.

A writer in 1803 describes the library as "a dark diminutive & dusty room at the south end of the school, where the books which compose it are covered with dust & defaced by the boys with ink & erasures."³

The school library still possesses a copy of a play entitled *Abradates and Panthea*, on a subject taken from the *Cyropaedia*, which was acted by the scholars of St. Paul's in 1770.⁴

The only known contemporary record of the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the school by Colet is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁵ according to which—

¹ G. M., vol. ix. p. 586. ² *Pauline*, vol. iv., No. 5, p. 99.

³ Malcolm, *Lond. Redevivum*, vol. iii: p. 193.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, series 2, vol. ii: p. 67, 1862.

⁵ G. M., 1810, vol. lxxx. p. 480.

"The commencement of the fourth centenary from the foundation of St. Paul's School was this day celebrated at Freemason's Hall by the gentlemen who received their education in that respectable seminary. The Lord Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Philip Francis, K.B., the Rev. Dr. Roberts, the high master, and many others, equally the ornaments of that excellent foundation and of society, whom the celebration of this event had attracted even from distant parts of the country, graced the social board."

That the school was not unmindful of the services rendered to it by the man who occupied the high master's chair for a longer time than did any of his predecessors or successors, is seen from a record in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ which states that on March 30, 1815, "The young Gentlemen educating at St. Paul's School, to evince their respect for the Rev. Dr. Roberts, who lately resigned the situation of High Master after retaining it for upwards of forty-five years presented to him, as a mark of their grateful esteem, an elegant silver vase inscribed with suitable & appropriate devices and inscriptions. The Scholars of the head class with a deputation from each of the other classes presented it to the venerable Master at his house in Kensington ; when Mr. Hastings, the senior scholar delivered an appropriate address in the name of the School, to which Dr. Roberts returned an answer expressive of his feelings, exhorting his young friends to persevere in their classical pursuits, and expressing his conviction that the young gentlemen educated at St. Paul's School would always prove an ornament to their country and to mankind. Dr. Roberts afterwards entertained his young friends with a handsome collation."

The most distinguished of Roberts' pupils was Thomas

¹ *G. M.*, vol. lxxxviii., pt. i., p. 368.



THOMAS WILDE, LORD TRURO, LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

*From the copy by T. Y. Gooderson in the National Portrait Gallery of the painting by
Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., in the School*

(To face p. 36.)

Wilde, Lord Chancellor Truro. The son of a Newgate Street attorney, popularly known as "Gentleman Wilde," he entered St. Paul's at the age of seven, and remained there until he was fourteen. Of his career at St. Paul's nothing is known, except that two years after his entry he was so backward that the examiner recommended his removal, but Dr. Roberts, recognizing his latent abilities, refused to allow this. Immediately on leaving school he was articled to his father, but after practising for twelve years as a solicitor he was called to the Bar in 1817. Three years later, in the case of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline, Wilde was briefed as counsel, and virtually superseded Brougham and Denman, who were respectively the Queen's Attorney and Solicitor-General. The confidence which he inspired in his Royal client is to be seen in the fact that the Queen made him one of her executors, and charged him with the duty of distributing her mourning rings inscribed "Regi, regnoque fidelis." Soon after the Queen's case Wilde was called to the degree of Serjeant-at-Law, and later became in turn King's Serjeant and Queen's Ancient Serjeant. Within ten years of his call he had the largest Common Law practice in England. In 1831 Wilde, after two unsuccessful contests, was returned in the Whig interest as member for Newark,¹ but in the election for the Reformed Parliament, Gladstone, then aged twenty-three, defeated him, and, according to Lord Morley, the serjeant, after hearing him speak, sententiously said to one of his own supporters, "There is a great future before this young man."

In the election of 1831 Wilde had one advantage over his opponent, Michael Sadler, a Tory philanthropist, nominated by the Duke of Leeds, which in 1832 he had

¹ Crabb Robinson, May 28, 1824.

not over Gladstone. In the former contest Charles Lamb wrote him some electioneering squibs, of which the following has been preserved—

“Even now the Bill is filed
And your Counsel—Serjeant Wilde.
He will make the Sadler sidle
Stir him up with bit and bridle.
If you would be Freemen styled
Go at once and vote for Wilde.
If you'd be a Ducal twaddler
Then turn round and vote for Sadler.”¹

Wilde was again returned for Newark in 1835, and for a third time in 1837. In 1841 he was elected for Worcester, and retained that seat until his elevation to the Bench in 1846.

The industry of Wilde at the zenith of his professional career was proverbial. Sergeant Ballantine recalled a consultation at his chambers which lasted from eight till twelve ; one of his devils asserted that he never thought of leaving the Temple until the clock of St. Paul's struck midnight ; while Lord Campbell records that he went to chambers at six o'clock summer and winter, and if hard pushed did not mind sitting up all night.

Among the *causes célèbres* in which he was briefed Small *v.* Attwood, where he was counsel for the appellant before the House of Lords, may be mentioned ; while in the still more famous case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard he was in the House of Commons the life and soul of the party of privilege.

In 1839 Wilde became Solicitor-General. Two years later, he wished for reasons of health to be given a puisne judgeship, but by a rare exercise of party loyalty he remained in office owing to the precarious state of the Melbourne Ministry, which an adverse by-election might have destroyed.

¹ E. V. Lucas, *Lamb*, v. 341-2 ; vii. 85-6 ; Talfourd's *Mem.*, ii. 77-8.

In 1842 Wilde became Attorney-General. It is worth noting that of the three counsel who at this time reigned supreme in the Common Law Courts, Wilde, Pollock, and Follet, the first two were Old Paulines.

In 1844 Wilde was briefed in the Sussex peerage case for Sir Augustus D'Este, a natural son of the Duke of Sussex, who, in spite of the Royal Marriages Act, claimed the dukedom of Sussex. Out of this case arose his marriage with the claimant's sister, who, like Wilde, was no longer young, so that the union excited a good deal of amusement, one comment running—

“Happy the pair who fondly sigh
By fancy and by love beguiled
He views as heaven his d'Este nigh
She vows her fate will make her Wilde.”¹

On the return of the Whigs to power in 1846 Wilde again became Attorney-General. Very shortly afterwards he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but four years later, on the death of Lord Cottenham, through the persuasion of Lord John Russell, he exchanged the “pillow of the pleas” with great reluctance for the woolsack, and entered the House of Lords as Lord Truro of Bowes.

Lord Brougham, in proposing that Sir Thomas Wilde should occupy the woolsack, described him as one of the most amiable, most experienced and most learned lawyers in Westminster Hall.

He remained Lord Chancellor until the Russell Ministry resigned office eighteen months later, and on the return of the Whigs to power, some months later, his health and his inability to adapt himself to the Courts of Equity after a life spent in those of Common Law prevented his accepting the Great Seal for a second time, and in consequence it was put into commission.

¹ Coleridge, *Life*, i. 175.

Leake and Charles Diggle, who fought in the Crimea, both rose to the rank of general.

The profession in which, more than any other, Dr. Roberts' pupils achieved distinction was the law. T. W. Williams, who has not hitherto been identified, was a legal writer of sufficient note to deserve a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Edward Lawes became a Serjeant-at-Law, and William Julian, another Old Pauline who assumed the coif, became Judge Advocate-General.

Sir John Sewell, F.R.S., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Malta, was for eleven years at St. Paul's under Roberts. The careers of two other colonial judges educated under this high master have by a strange coincidence not hitherto been recorded. John Wild, the elder brother of the future Lord Chancellor, with whom he entered the school, left as captain in the last year of the eighteenth century. He became Chief Justice of New South Wales, and as Sir John Wild died Chief Justice of the Cape. Sir James Dowling, another Chief Justice of New South Wales, entered the school two years after Wild had gone up to Cambridge. He first served as Puisne Judge of the Court of that colony, became Chief Justice in 1837, and was knighted in the following year.

Jonathan Frederick Pollock, the son of a saddler at Charing Cross, who lost heavily by giving credit to George IV when Prince of Wales, entered the school at the remarkably late age for that time, of sixteen. He became senior wrangler, Smith's Prizeman, and Fellow of Trinity. His career at the Bar made him the founder of a family which has been called the English "gens Mucia." He served twice as Attorney-General under Sir Robert Peel, in 1834-5, and again in 1841-4. In 1844 Sir J. F. Pollock became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, a post which he retained



Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., pinx.]

SIR J. F. POLLOCK, BART., F.R.S., LORD CHIEF BARON OF THE
EXCHEQUER

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for twenty-two years. He sent his sons to St. Paul's, and was chairman of the Old Pauline dinner on its revival in 1864, six years before his death. It was Chief Baron Pollock who damned one of the worst series of law reports ever issued by saying, "Espinasse! Oh yes, he was that deaf old reporter who heard one half of a case and reported the other."

One of the more distinguished pupils of Dr. Roberts whose name alone appeared in the first volume of admission registers, and whose identity was first made known in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was John Gurney, who within a few years after his call to the Bar became leader of the home circuit, and maintained that position in spite of the presence of rivals as distinguished as Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, and Scarlett. He took a conspicuous part in several State trials, holding a brief for the defence of Horne Tooke in 1794, and of Arthur O'Connor in 1798. He took silk in 1816, and in 1832 he was raised to the bench as Baron of the Exchequer, where he enjoyed the reputation of being a sound lawyer and an acute judge. It is worth noting that Sir John Gurney married the daughter of an Old Pauline, William Hawes, the founder of the Royal Humane Society.

Sir Thomas Edlyn Tomlyns, the son of an eminent solicitor well known in the political circles of the eighteenth century, is another lawyer of note who has not hitherto been identified among Roberts' pupils. Tomlyns was at Queen's College, Oxford, and after being editor of the *St. James' Chronicle*, became counsel to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and later to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland until the union of the British and Irish Treasuries in 1816. He was knighted in 1814 on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, and in 1827 was Treasurer of the Inner Temple.

Sir Charles Wetherell, who, like Sir J. F. Pollock, was twice senior law officer of the Crown, was the son of the Master of University College, Oxford. He was Solicitor-General from 1824–1826, and Attorney-General in 1826–7 and 1828–9. He was a brilliant lawyer, but a Tory of the uncompromising school of Lord Elden, and bitterly opposed the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Bill. His anti-democratic sympathies and his habitual slovenliness in dress led to much unkindly criticism. A member of the House of Commons declared that in his speech made upon Catholic Emancipation, standing with his hands in the waistband of his breeches, he had but one lucid interval, which was that between his breeches and his waistcoat. A squib which was circulated during the Reform Bill campaign ran—

“ Died Sir Charles Wetherell's laundress, Sue,
Verdict—ennui, so little work to do.”

Another comment of the wits, characteristic of a time when Rowlandson and Gillray were popular caricaturists, declared that he escaped from the rioters at Bristol, of which he was Recorder, in a clean shirt and a pair of braces.

The laugh, however, was not always against him. It was he who told Lord Lyndhurst, apropos Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, that “ plain John Campbell has added a new terror to death,” and when Lord Brougham insisted on sitting—so as to conclude a case—on the last two days of Holy Week, Wetherell remarked that he was the first judge since Pontius Pilate to sit on Good Friday. His masterly cross-examination of the spy Castles in the trial of James Watson for high treason¹ served as model for the celebrated scene in *A Tale of Two Cities*.

A few days before the admission of Wetherell, the son

¹ State Trials, vol. xxxii. pp. 284–327.

of the master of an Oxford college, R. W. Elliston, the nephew of the Master of Sidney Sussex was admitted to St. Paul's. While at school Elliston attended French classes in the evening, at which he met Charles Mathews the elder, then a boy at Merchant Taylors', who inspired him with an ambition for the stage, where he rose to the highest success. His Charles Surface is said to have been unsurpassable. Leigh Hunt thought him a finer actor than Kemble, while his friend Charles Lamb concludes the charming character-sketch contained in the two essays devoted to his memory with this apostrophe, "Thou wert a scholar, and an early ripe one, under the roof builded by the munificent and pious Colet. For thee the Pauline muses weep. In elegies that shall silence this crude prose, they shall celebrate thy praise."

Two other actors of sufficient distinction to be named in the *Dictionary of National Biography* were educated by Roberts. John Fawcett, who created the part of Dr. Pangloss in Colman's *Heir at Law*, entered the school in 1776. William Evans Burton, who has not been identified in the registers, after matriculating at Christ's went on the stage and made himself a name in America as a dramatist. His chief parts were Bob Acres and Tony Lumpkin, and "as an actor," it was said, "he held the first rank, and the present generation cannot hope to witness his equal."

William Chamberlain, who entered the school the year after Elliston, was a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and became a portrait painter of some eminence. Daniel Asher Alexander, surveyor to Trinity House, was a well-known architect, and designed Dartmoor prison as well as several lighthouses. With him may be named George Rennie, F.R.S., who designed London Bridge, and Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., who compiled the well-known *Encyclopædia of Architecture*. Two of Roberts' pupils held the post of Keeper of printed

CHAPTER XX

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

JOHN SLEATH, HIGH MASTER 1814-1837

ON the resignation of Dr. Roberts, the Mercers appointed John Sleath as his successor. Sleath was a Leicestershire man who entered Rugby, where he was one of the last boys to wear a cocked hat and a queue, in 1776, and eight years later he proceeded from that school with a Rugby Exhibition to Lincoln College, Oxford. In the following year he became a scholar of Wadham. In 1787, before he had taken his degree, he was appointed by Dr. James to a mastership at Rugby, where he remained for twenty-seven years, until his election to the high mastership of St. Paul's. Among his pupils at Rugby was Walter Savage Landor, unquestionably a troublesome school-boy, who writes with affectionate remembrance of "the elegant and generous Dr. John Sleath of Rugby."¹ His brother, William Boulbee Sleath, who also was a Rugby master, went from there to Repton, a school of which he was the most distinguished head master. Letters from Sleath which are published in the collected works of Samuel Parr show that the influence of "the Whig Johnson" was exerted in favour of the candidature of the Rugby master. A month before the election Sleath wrote, "Your favourable opinion, expressed in the most general terms, must be of essential use to me. But greatly as I should have felt myself obliged by such general testimony, I feel myself doubly indebted to

¹ W. S. Landor's Works, ed. 1876, vol. iv. 400 n.

you for the very kind and condescending manner in which you have applied, not only to the Company in general, but also to those individual electors with whom you are privately acquainted."

On the day of his appointment he wrote—

"St. Paul's, June 16, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I should reproach myself if I delayed an instant in communicating to you that I am most handsomely elected to the high mastership of St. Paul's School. I am fully sensible of your zealous assistance, which must have materially contributed to my success. I can only add, I know not how to thank you, but you may believe me, my dear Sir, ever your obedient and grateful servant,

"JOHN SLEATH."

In the year of his election to St. Paul's, Sleath took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In the following year he was elected F.S.A., and five years later F.R.S. He was a Prebendary of St. Paul's and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. In 1833 he became Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal of St. James'. On his retirement from the high mastership, which occurred in 1837, he retained his connection with the Chapel Royal, and four years later became rector of Thornby in Northamptonshire. He died in 1847 and was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.

One of Sleath's pupils describes him at the close of his career at St. Paul's as "tall imposing and corpulent, a good scholar, not unkind, but only unapproachable and awe-inspiring," and the same writer relates that "he took leave of the School in a gentle & affectionate speech. The Eighth showed up voluntary verses which affected him deeply as they were read out to him."¹

¹ *Pauline*, vol. ii. *passim*: Rev. G. R. Kingdon, S.J., "Fifty Years Ago."

At the opening of the new buildings of the school in 1884, Benjamin Jowett, the most distinguished of his pupils, referring to what the Master of the Mercers' Company had called "the dignified presence of Dr. Sleath," went on to speak of him as "one of the kindest and best of men, a gentleman of the old school, not without prejudices—everybody was prejudiced in those days—but revered and beloved by all his pupils."

In a series of articles entitled "Recollections of Last Century," contributed in 1901 to the *Times*,¹ by Prebendary J. E. Kempe, one of the oldest Paulines then living, the writer declared that he owed nothing to St. Paul's for anything which he had managed to learn, except Greek and Latin, but he spoke nevertheless of "the University honours and high positions, especially in the learned professions, which were won by so many of my school-fellows." Sleath himself used to say, "I do not profess to be a good scholar, but I make my scholars polish one another," and an illustration of this is to be found in a fact recorded by Father Kingdon to the effect that for many months he was in the habit of translating the concluding words in the Sunday's collect which the boys used to translate, but which were never corrected, by the words "mundus sine fine," until another boy pointed out to him the correct form in a Latin edition of the Prayer-book.

Prebendary Kempe placed on record an incident concerning the eldest son of Lord Chief Baron Pollock, who, like his father, was educated at St. Paul's. "The 7th and 8th were exempted from the cane. Pollock, when in the 7th, so exasperated the Doctor that he sent the Captain for the cane. Pollock walked out of the school-room in sight of all. 'Take notice,' exclaimed the Doctor in his stentorian voice, 'that boy is expelling himself.' "

¹ February 1, 1901.

University Scholarships, two Bell Scholarships, one Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, and nine fellowships at Trinity.

The *Times*¹ announced his retirement in a characteristically early Victorian strain by stating that "The Rev. Dr. Sleath, High Master of St. Paul's has resigned that situation which for many years he has conducted in manner most honourable to himself, creditable to those in whose gift the appointment is vested, and advantageous to the youth placed under his care."

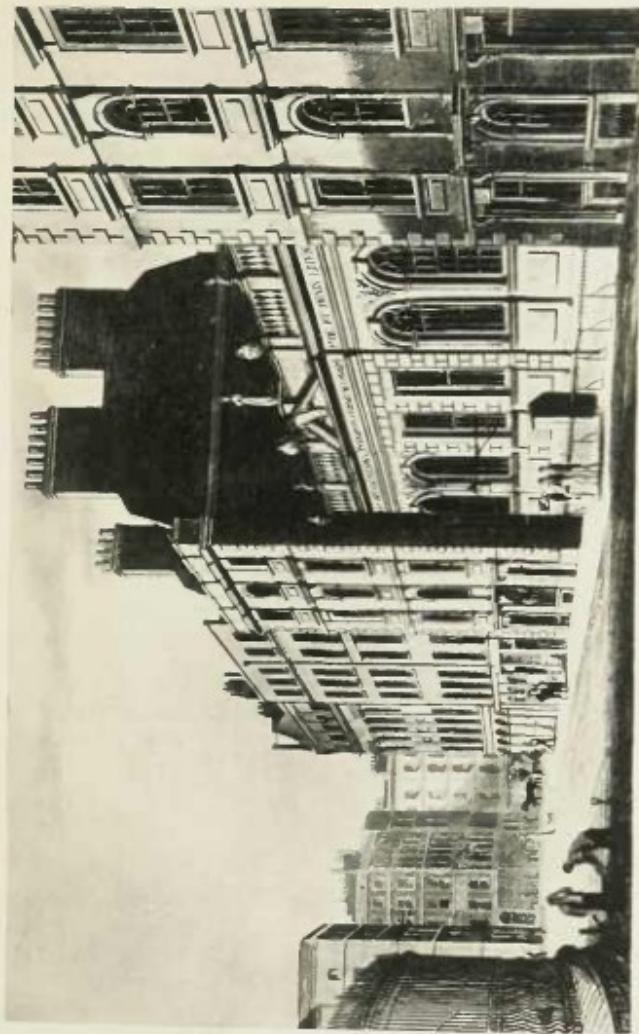
Even Serjeant Ballantine, whose criticisms were for the most part hostile, was constrained to admit that Sleath, to whose forms he never reached, was "a man of portly presence, a good scholar, I believe, and much respected," a description which is the more striking when it is compared with Ballantine's descriptions of the other masters as "cruel, cold-blooded, unsympathetic tyrants."

If the assistant masters at St. Paul's at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were brutal and incompetent bullies, it must be remembered that in this respect it differed but little from other public schools. Sydney Smith said that the whole system at Winchester in his time was one of abuse, neglect, and vice,² and Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, who was at William of Wykeham's school thirty or forty years later, spoke of it as "a coarse brutal and cruel school," while Charles Mathews the elder wrote in his autobiography that two more cruel tyrants than his masters at Merchant Taylors' never existed.

The reminiscences of a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, Father George Renorden Kingdon, who was the eldest of five brothers educated at St. Paul's, throw an interesting light upon the state of the school at the end

¹ December 11, 1837.

² Lady Holland's *Life of Sydney Smith*, vol. i. p. 6.



A. Pugin fecit

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL IN 1816

From Akerman's "History of the Public Schools."

(Top face p. 394)

[f. 1. St. Paul's Sch.]

of Sleath's and the beginning of Kynaston's high mastership. Father Kingdon entered the school in 1830, the year after Benjamin Jowett and the year before Lord Hannen. After making the reference already quoted concerning the assistant masters, he says that they were neither loved nor respected, and goes on to state that he learnt quite ten times as much from his school-fellows as from any master. An exception, however, is made as to Cooper, the fourth master, who was generally popular, and who differed from his colleagues also in this, that instead of knee-breeches and black silk stockings he wore the modern trousers. "Jimmy Cooper," however, lived long enough to be old fashioned in his dress, and it is said that towards the end of his thirty-eight years' mastership, "with his gown he always wore a tall hat after the fashion of the non-resident Cambridge masters."

The state of discipline appears to have been extraordinarily lax. School began at seven in summer and eight in winter, but as Sleath frequently overslept himself, prayers were often not said till half-an-hour later. All the masters were constantly late after the interval "between hours," from eleven to two, on the three days which were not half-holidays. On one day in the month Sleath, being a Royal chaplain, used to leave early in the afternoon, and the first few boys in the Eighth who were privileged to work in the library and not in the school-room, not infrequently went home.

Father Kingdon, in reference to Serjeant Ballantine's unpleasant recollections of his school-days, which only lasted four years, and in which he did not reach higher than the fourth form, says "Disagreeable things though they sometimes happened, were never so continuous as to make my school-time other than a happy one." Perhaps the pitched battles waged in the city streets with the boys of Merchant Taylors', whom the Paulines contemptuously called

"Stitch-lice," in answer to the name "Polecats," which was applied to them, may have contributed to his enjoyment. He tells us that R. H. D. Barham, who was one of the head boys in the school in 1834, armed himself in one of these encounters with a sword and was arrested with it drawn in his hand, and though summoned before a magistrate was dismissed with a caution.

The Eighth had more books than a single locker would hold. Consequently they were allowed the use of those which were unoccupied on the bottom bench of the lower forms. Father Kingdon remembered stooping under the desk and saying, when the captain of the school came to his locker in the Second, "'I say, Jowett, give us a "con." There's a good fellow.' He was always too good-natured to refuse, and with his locker open would translate Valpy's *Delectus* for me straight off, to my great satisfaction."

The relic of a custom dating from the high mastership of Malym, in 1573, occurred on the days on which Sleath called out "Fetch the Play Book." A big morocco-bound, gilt-edged book was brought in, and just before prayers at the end of morning school, Sleath, taking the book from the captain, would solemnly announce, "There will be a play to-day for the good composition of A. B.," and the compositions which had gained the half-holiday were written out in the play book.

The reminiscences contain many references to W. A. C. Durham, at that time surmaster, who "used to throw his cane at a boy's head and expect him to come with it for the purpose of further punishment."

His portrait in the Great Hall, which represents a handsome old gentleman, makes it difficult to realize his reputation, which lasted long after his resignation, as a brutal type of Squeers.¹

¹ *Vide* Ballantine's *Reminiscences*.

His habits and his initials earned him, as we have seen, the name of "Whack" Durham, and it was largely owing to his practices that the Clarendon Commission was able to report in Kynaston's time, "even in the late master's time the cane is said to have been applied with undue rigour and frequency," while it is on record that small boys used to be hoaxed by being told that the inscription at the end of the school-room meant, "Doce—flog the boys; Disce—make their blood run cold; Aut—or; Discede—turn them out of doors."

According to the evidence given before the Public Schools' Commission in 1864, the average rank of boys educated at St. Paul's rose during the twenty-three years of Sleath's high mastership to that of the boarders in Roberts' time, who had been boys of a better class than the day boys. Sleath, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education, in 1816, stated that "the boys are the sons principally of the clergy, professional gentlemen, and medical men in the neighbourhood, and a great many gentlemen in Doctor's Commons have received their education in St. Paul's School."

On the election of Dr. Sleath in 1814, a list of books required for the library was presented to the company, £400 was spent in buying and binding books, and a sum not exceeding £200 was allowed for their purchase. Two years later the annual charge for the library was fixed at £20.

A catalogue which was ordered to be made in 1812 was directed to be printed in 1815; from it we gather that the works of none of the "auctors Christian," prescribed by Colet, were in the library one hundred years ago. Another catalogue which was ordered in 1820, shows the number of books at that date to have been 1,358. It is of interest as being the

first to contain the names of any of Milton's works. In the new building for the school, which was erected in 1824, a handsome library was provided at the north end of the Great School-room, occupying about two-thirds of the depth of the building. In 1836 a new catalogue was made by Benjamin Jowett, at that time captain of the school, for which he received a hundred guineas.

The marble bust of Sleath which is in the present library was bought in 1901, on the death of his nephew, the Rev. John Couchman, one of the oldest living Paulines. It was executed by Behnes in 1841. A plaster cast presented to the school by the high master's niece in 1887, the place of which in the library was taken by the original, is now to be seen in the Board room. In 1893 a portrait in the Board room was identified as that of Sleath, and was discovered to have been presented by the high master to his favourite pupil,¹ whose daughter, on inheriting it, presented it to Dr. Kynaston.

The number of boarders in the school was fully maintained by Sleath. According to Dr. Kynaston's evidence before Lord Clarendon's Commission, he had thirty boys living in his house, but, continues his successor, "Where he put them I could never understand." The surmaster took twenty boys, and the usher and the high master's assistant appear to have taken about half-a-dozen boys apiece. Father Kingdon says that "the boarders were a rowdy bullying set, disliked and shunned by the others." It was possibly for this reason that Sleath allowed those whom he had in his house to dwindle down at the end of his career to nine or ten.

Sleath, who on his appointment abolished the teaching of Hebrew, was anxious in 1816 to see mathematics taught

¹ Rev. Wm. Mackey, of Hayfield, Loch Awe. His daughter was Mrs. Shelford.

in the school, but it was not till 1835, three years before his resignation of the high mastership, that he persuaded the Mercers to give facilities for the teaching of mathematics at St. Paul's, the under usher being deputed to teach it to eighth and seventh forms on two afternoons in the week, attendance at his classes being purely optional.

Sir H. Maxwell Lyte's description of the state of things at Eton seventy years ago, when no religious instruction was given to the boys, and Euclid, algebra and even arithmetic were practically optional, might equally be applied to St. Paul's, where, according to Father Kingdon, in the early forties Bean, the third master, "was the only one who attempted anything like religious teaching."

The *Preces*, however, the last edition of which went back to 1718, were reprinted on Sleath's appointment in 1815.

Early in Dr. Sleath's high mastership, as we have seen, the Mercers introduced a mischievous change into the system of admission to the school, by assuming to the Court of Assistants in rotation the right of nomination to vacancies to St. Paul's, a privilege which they retained till 1876. No boys other than foundation scholars were admitted after his election in 1814, until the new scheme governing the school came into force in 1877.

Taking the 675 boys admitted by Dr. Sleath in twenty-four years, the average number of boys admitted in a year is seen to have dropped to twenty-eight, giving a mean school-life to each boy of five and a half years. Side by side with this change must be noted the fact that whereas less than ten per cent. of Dr. Roberts' pupils proceeded to the Universities, more than twenty-five per cent. of those of Dr. Sleath left St. Paul's to go to Oxford or Cambridge.

Puerorum in Christi Opt. Max. Fide et Bonis Literis.' The second story is composed of six columns of the Tivoli Corinthian order, sustaining an entablature having the frieze enriched with garlands and ox-skulls, the whole surmounted by a pediment. At the back of the portico, in the basement-story, are four columns of the Doric order, the intercolumniations of which are filled with screens of open iron-work ; the whole of the floor beneath the school being intended for a play-ground. The second story in the centre is appropriated to the school, and contains five lofty windows corresponding in width with the intercolumniations, and above the roof behind the portico is a circular cupola, rising from a low attic, and lighted by windows placed around it. The remainder of the design, which is of the same height in the wings and intermediate parts of the building, is divided into three stories, the lowermost being also rusticated and containing entrances and windows, and the upper story having windows only ; above which an entablature carried from the portico and blocking course, with acroteria over the wings, completes the elevation. The back part of the building in Old Change is of brick with stone ornaments, and also consists of a centre and wings, surmounted by a pediment, and having the ground floor open. The interior of the school itself is handsomely fitted up, and contains three tiers of seats on each side, with four desks in the centre for the masters. Above each of the doors of entrance is inscribed the founder's original motto 'Disce aut Discede,' and the ceiling is carved & panelled with a large and handsome flower in the centre."

Benjamin Jowett, the most distinguished of Sleath's pupils, was the son of a printer in Fleet Street. He entered the school at the age of twelve in 1829, and was placed in the sixth form. Some of his exercises were copied

into the play book inscribed *Musae Paulinae*, and are still preserved in the school. It is said that before he left St. Paul's he could repeat by heart the greater part of Virgil and Sophocles and also the *Trilogy* and *Prometheus* of Aeschylus.

His biographers tell a characteristic anecdote of his school-life. An old statute of Colet's, by which a boy who had been absent more than a certain number of days was expelled, was about to be revived. A comrade of Jowett's had been away for a time dangerously near the limit, and was supposed to be unaware of the declared intention to enforce the rule. The door-bell at this boy's home in some far distant suburb was rung late one night, and a small figure was found on the step. It was little Jowett, who had walked miles to warn his friend of the danger he was incurring.¹

One of his contemporaries at St. Paul's recalled Jowett's appearance nearly seventy years later as "a pretty looking boy, who wore a perpetual suit of green sateen, which never got in my time to the dignity of a coat-tail, but stuck to the less dignified one of a jacket." The same writer said that on the strength of his looks he was known at school as Miss Jowett, while Baron Pollock remembered him as a young-looking boy with a round face and bright eyes, retiring in manner, but holding his own and much respected. In 1835 Jowett gained the Governor's Prize for Greek iambics, and in 1836 that for Latin hexameters. Both pieces are preserved in MS. in the library.

Dr. Sleath told John Couchman, his nephew, that Jowett was the best Latin scholar he ever sent to college, and it is worthy of notice that the *Times*, in its account of the Apposition of 1836, at which Jowett left the school as captain, said that "this year's exhibitioners appear to be exceptionally good."

¹ Campbell and Abbott, *Life of Jowett*, vol. i. p. 32.



Geo. Richmond del.

BENJAMIN JOWETT, MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK

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It is said that one lasting impression gathered by Benjamin Jowett in his school-days under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral was a love for classical architecture and a reverence for the work of Sir Christopher Wren.

The fact that he entered the school after his twelfth birthday prevented him from gaining any of the school exhibitions, but the Mercers' Company awarded him the Lady North Exhibition, which is in their gift, and presented him with an honorarium of £100 for cataloguing the school library. At Oxford Jowett became a Scholar and Fellow of Balliol, obtained a first in Greats, and carried off the Hertford and the Latin Verse prize. He became Regius Professor of Greek in 1855, and was elected Master of Balliol in 1870, retaining the post till his death in 1893. One need do nothing more than mention his *Plato* and his *Thucydides*, his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*, and his dissertations on *St. Paul's Epistles*.

One of the first boys admitted to the school by Sleath was F. J. Halliday, who at his death, aged ninety-four, in 1901, was probably the oldest living Pauline and the oldest living Rugbeian. He was sent to Rugby to be under Sleath, and on the promotion of the latter to St. Paul's he became a boarder in his house, where he remained for seven years. He entered the Honourable East India Company's service and was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during the Mutiny, receiving for his services the thanks of Parliament and the K.C.B. in 1860. On his retirement, Sir Frederick Halliday served for eighteen years as a member of the Council of India, and was for many years President of the Old Pauline Club.

A year after, Halliday, a boy who also was destined to hold high office in India, was admitted to the school. This was Lucius Bentinck, Viscount Falkland, who held the post of Governor of Bombay, and was in addition a Privy

Councillor, Grand Cross of Hanover, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The legal traditions of the school were well maintained under Sleath. Sir W. F. Pollock, the Queen's Remembrancer, and Sir Charles Pollock, Baron of the Exchequer, were both sons of the Lord Chief Baron who was at St. Paul's under Roberts. Sir Charles Pollock, who was "the last of the Barons," sat as judge with Russell, L.C.J., and Hawkins, J., in the Jameson trial at Bar. A letter is extant written by Sir J. F. Pollock to his elder son, a month after he entered St. Paul's at the age of nine, in which the Chief Baron said, "As you have learnt the *Propria quae moribus*, do not at present forget it."

Other lawyers educated by Sleath include William Ballantine, serjeant-at-law, the leading criminal advocate of his day, who, although he described his school-days at St. Paul's as "the blackest and most odious period of my existence," nevertheless attended the Old Pauline dinner in 1864, at which he was one of the speakers.

Police Court magistrates, such as T. J. Arnold, F.R.S., and A. A. Knox; distinguished conveyancers, like J. Bevir, Q.C.; County Court judges, such as Woodthorpe Brandon and Shelley Eddis, Q.C., or even judges of the High Courts of Greater Britain, such as Sir James Prendergast, Chief Justice of New Zealand, or F. A. B. Glover, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, are all overshadowed by James Hannen, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the century, whom men still living remember to have seen driving daily in a pony-chaise from his father's house in Dulwich to St. Paul's. After eight years at school he went to the University of Heidelberg, and twenty years after his call to the Bar became a Puisne Judge of the Queen's Bench. Four years later Sir James Hannen became Judge of the Probate and Divorce Court, and after the passing of the first



T. Blake Wiegman del.

JAMES, LORD HANNEN, LORD OF APPEAL IN ORDINARY

[To face p. 394]



Judicature Act he was promoted to the Presidency of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, and was summoned to the Privy Council. He acted as President of the Parnell Commission, and in 1891 became a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, with the title of Baron Hannen of Burdock. He served as British Representative on the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries Inquiry, and on his return he compared himself, with justice and some felicity, with Proteus in the *Georgics*, with his herd of seals, quoting the lines—

“Ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim
Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit.”

The *Times*, after his death, declared that he left behind no superior in many of the attributes which best become a judge.

Only one of Sleath's pupils was consecrated bishop. This was C. R. Alford, a contemporary at St. Paul's and Trinity, Cambridge, of Sir W. F. Pollock. He was Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Huron, Canada. Prebendary J. E. Kempe, whose reminiscences of St. Paul's appeared in the *Times* in 1901, refused the offer of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1866. He remained for over forty years Rector of St. James', Piccadilly, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, and was a Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The name next to that of Kempe in the registers is that of J. W. Blakesley, who, after leaving school as captain, became, with W. F. Pollock, one of the best known of the “Cambridge Apostles.” It was to him that Tennyson dedicated one of his first published poems, calling him—

“Clear-headed friend whose joyful scorn
Edged with sharp laughter cuts awain
The knots that tangle human creeds,
The winding cords that bind and strain
The heart until it bleeds.”

The future poet-laureate predicted that he would become Lord Chancellor, but Blakesley became a canon of Canterbury and then Dean of Lincoln.

Just a year junior in the school to Blakesley was Edward Howes, who like him became a Fellow of Trinity, after having first gained the Craven Scholarship, the Chancellor's medal, and having been second classic. In later life he sat in the House of Commons for South Norfolk. Three of Sleath's pupils became distinguished school-masters ; E. H. Bradley was for fifteen years a master at Harrow, and for an equal time head of Haileybury ; T. H. Steel was for many years master at Harrow, and W. A. Osborne, for twenty years head master of Rossall. H. H. Swinney, principal of Cuddesdon, may be mentioned in the same connection.

In 1823 the high master endowed a prize for Latin prose composition, which after his retirement came to be known as the Sleath Prize. The boy to whom it was first awarded—W. J. Copeland—was for seventeen years a Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, and was a curate of John Henry Newman, a volume of whose sermons he edited. He was said to have been the man best fitted to write the history of the Oxford Movement, a work which unfortunately he never undertook. On receipt of a copy of the *Pauline* containing his obituary, Cardinal Newman wrote in 1885, "You had good reason to be proud of him at St. Paul's. To me he was a dear and faithful friend."

Benjamin Webb, a prebendary of St. Paul's and a well-known theological writer, was a pupil of Sleath, as was George R. Kingdon, the eldest of five brothers who were at the school, from whose reminiscences I have so freely quoted. He became a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, and was Professor of Rhetoric and Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst College.

Of scientific men educated by Sleath, Sir Alfred Roberts

was the leading physician in the Australian colonies. In the same profession C. J. B. Aldis followed in the footsteps of his father, Sir Charles Aldis, and became a well-known consulting physician in London. He delivered the last Harveian oration in Latin at the Royal College of Physicians. Alfred Smee, F.R.S., the surgeon to the Bank of England, was the inventor of the electric battery which bears his name, and Richard King, the founder of the Ethnological Society, was a well-known Arctic explorer. Few of Sleath's pupils are known to have entered the army, but Lieutenant H. B. Melville was taken prisoner in the retreat from Cabul in 1842, and Major-General C. S. Longden, the son of an Old Pauline, served throughout the Mutiny campaign, was at the relief of Lucknow and the battle of Cawnpore, and was four times mentioned in despatches. R. S. Couchman, one of the seven nephews of the high master who were educated at St. Paul's, rose to the rank of major-general. Markland Barnard, the first boy admitted to St. Paul's by Dr. Sleath, was also the son of an Old Pauline, and, like his father, became Master of the Mercers' Company ; while J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A., became Master of the Stationers' Company. C. J. Clay became the well-known publisher to the Cambridge University Press, and Charles Elder, his contemporary at St. Paul's, acquired some eminence as a portrait painter.

At the Apposition of 1834, at which were present the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Cumberland, who became King of Hanover on the death of William IV, four years later, the two first Pauline exhibitioners were R. H. D. Barham, the son and biographer of Thomas Ingoldsby, and E. J. Bevir, who in later life became a distinguished Q.C. in Lincoln's Inn.

The account of the work done in the school in "the thirties" left us by Father George Kingdon contains some

points of interest. Lily's Latin Grammar, in its modified form, was still in use ; Greek was not begun till the fifth form was reached. A great deal of verse-making was practised throughout the school, and as for prose, the writer says that "Paulines long had a reputation for good compositions at Cambridge." In the Seventh the boys used Erasmus's *De Copia Verborum*, a book which had been continuously studied at St. Paul's ever since its dedication to the school at Dean Colet's request. The use made of this book and Lily's Grammar for three-and-a-half centuries in the school for which they were written must be a unique incident in the history of education.

In the Eighth, where Greek iambics were begun, the *Ars Poetica*, Virgil's *Georgics*, Horace's *Satires* and Cicero's speeches were read. Far more time was devoted to Greek, in which Pindar and Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Thucydides, and the tragic poets were read.



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HERBERT KYNASTON, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

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CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST DAYS IN THE CITY

HERBERT KYNASTON, HIGH MASTER, 1838-1876

HERBERT KYNASTON, the successor of Dr. Sleath, came of a Shropshire family and was educated at Westminster School. The name of his younger brother, a captain in the Navy who died of wounds received in the attack upon the forts at Sebastopol, heads the list of Old Westminsters in the Crimean memorial in Broad Sanctuary. The future high master was elected student of Christ Church, and became Lecturer in Philology and Tutor of the House under Dean Gaisford. Ruskin, in writing of his undergraduate days, refers to Kynaston in these terms¹—

“It was extremely unfortunate for me that the two higher lecturers of the College, Kynaston (afterwards Master of St. Paul’s) in Greek, and Hussey, the Censor . . . were both to my own feeling repugnant. They both despised me as a home-boy to begin with ; Kynaston with justice, for I had not Greek enough to understand anything he said—and when good-naturedly one day, in order to bring out as best he might my supposed peculiar genius and acquirements, he put me on in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and found to his own and all the class’s astonishment and disgust that I did not know what a triglyph was—never spoke to me with any patience again, until long afterwards at St. Paul’s, when he received me, on an occasion of school ceremony, with affection and respect.”

¹ *Præterita*, xi.

After holding his tutorship for five years, Kynaston was elected high master at the unusually early age of twenty-eight. He remained at the school for nearly forty years, and although he cannot be ranked among the great high masters of St. Paul's, he had a remarkable gift of inspiring a love of scholarship in a selected number of his pupils, while neglecting the educational needs of the rest.

Several captains of the school in succession were elected to fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, and he established what was, no doubt, an educational record in the fact that, at one time, Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered no less than seven of his pupils at St. Paul's among its Fellows.

In the memoir of Dr. E. Symes Thompson, the late Gresham Professor of Physic, his brother, who was also at St. Paul's, says that "it was Kynaston's eminent gift to impart love for good books ; and quicken the zest of a literary taste."

MM. Demogeot and Montucci, the French Commissioners who visited the chief English public schools in the year 1866, refer in their report to the "enseignement paternel et sans prétension" of the high master of St. Paul's, and say that while listening to Dr. Kynaston they could fancy themselves at the Sorbonne with Boissonnade or Egger.

Dr. Kynaston's graceful and elegant verses, written in celebration of various events of the history of the school, were recited annually at the Apposition. The best known of these, perhaps, are the *Lays of the Seven Half-Centuries*, written in the year 1859 for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the school. The dialogue "Speeches," which he maintained as a feature of the Apposition at St. Paul's, were, during his high mastership, imitated at the speech days at Eton and Harrow.

While few scholars surpassed the high master as a writer of Latin verse, his skill as an English poet only narrowly

missed securing recognition when he was beaten by but a few votes by Sir Francis Doyle in the election to fill the Professorship of English Poetry at Oxford.

Lord Truro presented the first living which fell to his gift as Lord Chancellor, that of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, to Dr. Kynaston, "out of respect to the memory of Dean Colet." On his retirement the high master was presented with an illuminated address, a library table and chair, and a prize known by his name was founded to commemorate his prolonged services to the school.

During Kynaston's high mastership the benefit of several new endowments was conferred on the school.

The brother of Thomas Barnes, a former editor of the *Times*, founded at Cambridge a scholarship, candidates for which must have been educated either at St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors' or Christ's Hospital. Seven Old Paulines have enjoyed the benefit of this endowment since its foundation in 1867. The scholarship falls vacant every four years, and since 1887 only two holders have not been educated at St. Paul's.

The Thruston Prize for Latin verse, in memory of Framingham William Thurston, who died suddenly of cholera, was founded in 1849 by his mother and Dr. Kynaston.

In 1840 the prize for English verse founded by the Governors in 1815, was converted into a prize for an English essay, which was awarded until the year 1863. In 1851 Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke founded the Milton Prize for English verse, and in the same year Lord Truro founded the Lord Chancellor's Prize and Medal which are annually awarded for an English essay. Until 1863 the Governors' Prize for an English essay was maintained as a second prize in the Truro competition. In 1868 Miss Hannah Barber endowed the Keen Scholarship, which is

awarded every year to the best mathematical scholar in the school at the time of his proceeding to the University.

The changes introduced by Kynaston were considerable. The school hours were shortened, first by making the time of assembling every morning in the school later than seven, the hour at which it had remained since the foundation. About 1855 the afternoon was shortened by dismissing the school at four o'clock instead of five, and in 1862 the school work lasted from nine to one, and from two to four. The abolition of the boarding-houses, which went on concurrently with the shortening of the hours of work, led to a disappearance of boys from outside London ; about a dozen of these were in the school at the time of the Royal Commission, but the boarding-houses in which they lived were totally unconnected with the school.

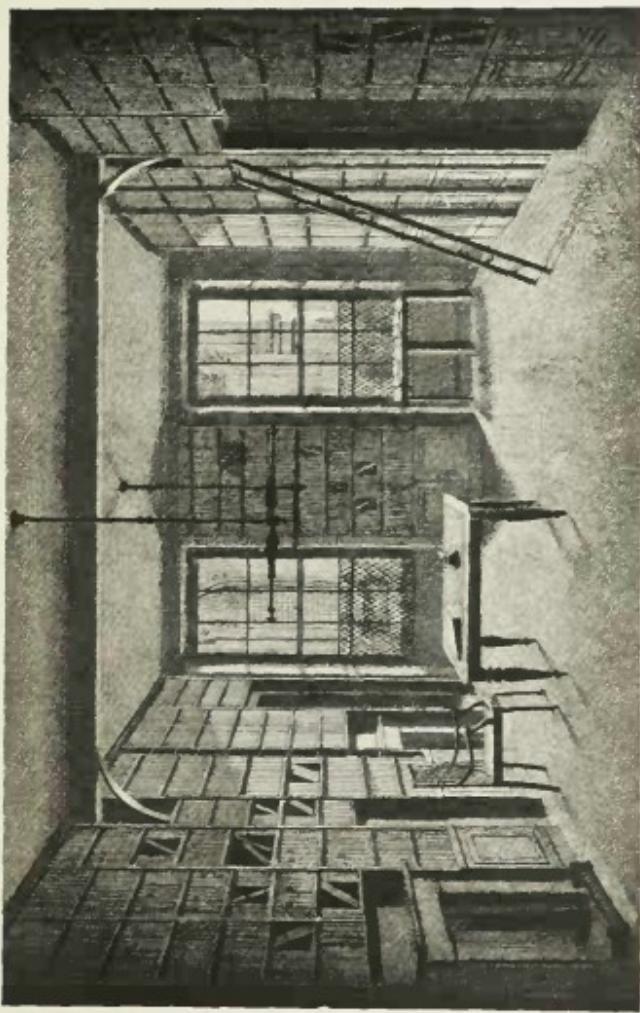
Kynaston suggested the formation of classrooms to the Mercers, and about 1853 some of the rooms of his house began to be used for that purpose, while the first six boys in the Eighth maintained their old privilege of working in the library. The schoolroom at Merchant Taylors' was partitioned in 1612, but the boys congregated in the schoolroom at St. Paul's were in no worse case than those of Westminster, where, until the year 1861, all teaching was done in one room, while the same conditions prevailed at Winchester and Eton for two centuries after their foundation.

The teaching of mathematics was improved by Dr. Kynaston, and in 1853, for the first time, French masters were appointed on the staff. These subjects were introduced at St. Paul's at a later date than at Harrow or Merchant Taylors', but many years earlier than at Eton. The Public Schools' Commission, however, reported unfavourably on the fact that St. Paul's was the only school among the nine which they examined in which neither music nor drawing were taught.

R. Harris (1871)

INTERIOR OF THE LIBRARY IN 1876

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At some date in the fifties a rule was made by which no boy was to be admitted into the school until he was nine years of age. No boys were entitled to leaving exhibitions who had not entered the school before they were twelve years old.

It is on record that Sleath, when asked by a parent if his son would be taught mathematics, replied, "At St. Paul's we teach nothing but the classics, nothing but Latin and Greek. If you want your son to learn anything else you must have him taught at home, and for this purpose we give him three half-holidays a week." This view of half-holidays, one may be sure, did not commend itself to the boys. Early in Kynaston's high mastership a change was made extending the limited teaching of mathematics as an optional subject to the two head forms which had been introduced three years before Sleath's resignation. After teaching mathematics for five years, James Cooper, the third master, was relieved of this duty by the appointment of a mathematical master in 1843, but it was not till 1854 that a University man was appointed mathematical master, when William Lethbridge, a high wrangler, was chosen to fill the post, and the whole system of mathematical teaching was remodelled. In 1853 two French masters were appointed, of whom one was M. Delille, the author of the well-known grammar. Two of the three weekly half-holidays were withdrawn, and three afternoons, from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., were assigned to French, the other two to mathematics. Later the Wednesday half-holiday was restored. An Old Pauline who entered the school in the year after their appointment speaks of the French masters, who "on two afternoons a week reigned supreme, if that can be called a reign where the subjects set their ruler at naught. But for the presence of the monitors the school would have been a bear garden." The monitorial system which prevailed during Sleath's and Kynaston's high masterships con-

sisted simply in this, that two second year boys in the Eighth were told off each week to keep order in any form in the event of the master's absence from the schoolroom.

In the first sixteen years of Dr. Kynaston's high mastership which preceded the reform of the Universities, four hundred and sixteen boys were admitted to the school, giving an average of twenty-six a year, the average length of school life being six years as compared with five and a half years which was the mean during the latter part of Sleath's rule. During this period, as in Sleath's time, about a quarter of the boys who passed through the school went to the Universities.

The system of nomination by the members of the court of the Mercers' Company in rotation to vacancies in the school, each of the twenty-eight members having about two in three years, was severely animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon's Commission in its report in 1865. After speaking of the "languor and stagnancy which appear to prevail in some parts of the school," it commented on the infinite mischief done by the system of nomination in lowering the whole standard at St. Paul's. The report went on to say that "it would be a grievous injury to the cause of classical education if these principles of exclusive patronage were to obstruct admission to a school which might, and ought to become, the first in London and one of the first in Great Britain."

The causes of the decline of the school since "the palmy days of Sleath," according to the Royal Commissioners, were not far to seek. The reason for the state of affairs, although the commissioners were unable to say so, was, in part, the inability of Dr. Kynaston to maintain discipline. He abolished the use of the birch-rod, but appears to have been unable to replace it by moral suasion. A recent captain of the school, J. W. Spurling, who afterwards became master at Rugby and at Westminster, Sub-warden of

Keble and Hon. Canon of Chester, gave evidence before the Commission while a Cambridge undergraduate to the effect that St. Paul's was not on the whole a very hard-working school. In Sleath's time this could not have been said. Of the twenty-five boys who left annually at this time not more than six went to the universities, the rest proceeding to the army, or navy, or into business. In 1862 there were eleven Old Paulines at Oxford and seventeen at Cambridge, fewer in each case than the numbers of old boys from any of the eight other public schools included in the terms of reference of the Royal Commission. As a rule not more than three open scholarships were gained each year at Oxford and Cambridge.

The reminiscences of the Rev. E. L. H. Tew, who was in the school from 1854 till 1863, show some changes in the school curriculum from that to which we have referred as being in vogue about a quarter of a century earlier. Lily's Latin Grammar was still used in the school at that date. Greek was begun in the Third, not in the Fifth as was formerly the case. As in Sleath's time, there was little scriptural or religious teaching.

The same writer, speaking of Kynaston, says that "a more polished scholar, and a worse disciplinarian there could not well be." The monitors and, in fact, the whole of the Eighth, claimed the right of not coming into school till 9.20 in the morning, and the high master appears to have raised no objection.

Although, as we have seen, the numbers of boys going from St. Paul's to the Universities were less than those of any of the other nine public schools, at any rate towards the end of Kynaston's career, it must be remembered that owing to the exclusion of boys other than foundation scholars St. Paul's was a far smaller school than any of the others with which it was compared. If an average be taken of the whole



which were submitted showed clearly the manner in which the city had within recent years ceased to be a place of residence. During Father Kingdon's school-days, from 1830 to 1840, nearly all the boys went home to dinner at mid-day. In 1859, only twenty-three boys lived within half-a-mile of the school. Exactly a third of the boys lived more than half-a-mile but less than two miles away. Thirty-two lived between two and three miles away, thirty-eight between three and five, and twenty-six between five and seven miles from the school, while fourteen lived more than seven miles from St. Paul's. The youngest boy in the school at this date was nine and a half years of age. The number of boys in each form varied from twenty-four in the Seventh to ten in the Sixth.

According to Dr. Kynaston's evidence a considerable number of boys went into the Royal Navy, but it is curious to notice how few of his pupils who entered that service have been traced in the registers.

The old-established privilege of St. Paul's of presenting an address to the sovereign on passing the school was exercised in 1845, when Queen Victoria visited the city to re-open the Royal Exchange. According to Dr. Kynaston's preface to *Corolla Nuptialis* in which the address is printed, "It was intimated . . . that it would be more agreeable to Her Majesty to receive the address from the High Master at her next levee, than to have the procession stopped for that purpose in front of the school, which was accordingly done. . . ." The verses which conclude the address were no doubt on this occasion displayed on a scroll outside the school building during the Queen's procession, as we know was done in 1863 on the passage of Princess Alexandra of Denmark—the present Queen—through the city on the occasion of her marriage to the Prince of Wales. The full address in this instance also was presented at the ensuing levee.

During Kynaston's high mastership the Apposition was on various occasions attended by different members of the Royal Family. At that of 1838, the first after Kynaston's appointment, the Duke of Cambridge and Prince George of Cambridge were present, as were the Bishops of London and Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, who at the Apposition six years later, declared that he had been attending that function for nearly thirty years. The number of bishops annually present at the Apposition, each of whom was prepared to demand a "remedy," must have satisfied even the most exacting of the boys in the school. In 1847 no less than five were present, owing to the fact that the Prince Consort attended. Among the distinguished Paulines present on this occasion was Sir Thomas Wilde, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and another visitor who was present on this occasion as on other Apposition days about this time was Mr. Gladstone, a contemporary and friend of Dr. Kynaston at Christ Church.

At the Apposition of 1856, according to the *Times*, "the schoolroom was decorated with the flags of England, France, Sardinia and Turkey, presented by Mr. White, who brought them as trophies from Sebastopol." In the absence of further information one can only suppose that this was Thomas William White, who entered the school in 1823 at the age of eleven, and whom one may surmise fought in the Crimea.

Three years later, in 1859, the seventh jubilee of the school was celebrated, and among the six bishops who were present, those of Llandaff and of Manchester were Old Paulines. Dr. Kynaston's *Lays of the Seven Half Centuries* were recited, and were described as worthy of such an erudite and elegant scholar.

In 1864 the Apposition was attended by the present King, at that time Prince of Wales. It is interesting to note that

the captain of the school was a boy who, as Canon Clement Smith, M.V.O., was destined to attend Queen Victoria in her last hours.

Dr. Kynaston educated at St. Paul's no less than eight future bishops, only one of whom, it is worth mentioning, was captain of the school. Peter Royston, who entered St. Paul's a year after Kynaston's election, became Bishop of Mauritius, and then Assistant Bishop of Liverpool. A. B. Suter, who entered St. Paul's a year later, was consecrated Bishop of Nelson and was for a time Primate of New Zealand. G. F. Popham Blyth, the present "Bishop in Jerusalem," was two years junior to Suter at St. Paul's. His brother, E. H. Blyth, declined the Bishopric of Nassau, West Indies, in 1887, on the ground of bad health. After an interval of three years after G. F. Blyth, H. Tully Kingdon entered the school, where he founded the Union Society. He became Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick. With the interval of a year after Kingdon's admission, in 1848, H. J. Matthew, first Bishop of Lahore, entered the school. In 1852 was admitted the latest Old Pauline to be consecrated, C. J. Ridgeway, who after little more than twelve months as Dean of Carlisle became Bishop of Chichester in 1908. Dr. E. A. Knox, the present Bishop of Manchester, the son and grandson of Old Paulines, was the second of Kynaston's pupils to be summoned to the House of Lords as a spiritual peer, after acting for many years as Suffragan Bishop of Coventry. Lastly we must mention Frederick Wallis, Bishop of Wellington, whose arms in the Great Hall at the school are appropriately placed beside those of Bishop Suter, whose See, like Dr. Wallis', was situated in New Zealand.

Sleath educated several judges and only one bishop. Kynaston educated eight bishops but no judges of the High Court. Nevertheless the members of the legal profession

who were his pupils include many leaders at the Bar. Sir Harry Poland, K.C., was, until his retirement from practice, the most distinguished criminal lawyer in England, and Kynaston's pupils, admitted to the school in the few years from 1858 to 1864, include His Honour Judge Philip Howard Smith, Frank Safford, Recorder of Canterbury, George Meryon White, editor of the *Law Reports*, and the following three who have taken silk, R. E. Pollock, J. C. L. Coward and E. F. Lankester. The brother of the last, the celebrated zoologist, Sir E. Ray Lankester, F.R.S., was also at St. Paul's, and his contemporary in the school, J. W. L. Glaisher, F.R.S., is also a distinguished man of science. Professor E. Symes Thompson, who entered the school only thirteen years earlier than these must be mentioned here, as must A. B. Kempe, Chancellor of three dioceses, Bencher of the Inner Temple, and Treasurer of the Royal Society, and his brother, Sir J. A. Kempe, K.C.B., Comptroller and Auditor-General, the distinguished sons of an Old Pauline father.

S. A. Saunder, the Gresham Professor of Astronomy, is the third Old Pauline who has occupied that chair in little over a hundred years. The Dean of St. Albans, Dr. W. J. Lawrence was captain of the school in 1858, and was contemporary at St. Paul's with Canon W. W. Capes, for some years Reader in Ancient History at Oxford. Sylvester J. Hunter, a conveyancing counsel, became a well-known member of the Society of Jesus, and J. Leycester Lyne, better known as Father Ignatius, was described by Mr. Gladstone as one of the most eloquent preachers he had ever heard.

Harry Escombe, who entered the school in the same week as J. L. Lyne, became Attorney-General and Prime Minister of the Colony of Natal, which he represented at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, when he was sworn of

the Privy Council. Other colonial administrators educated by Kynaston include Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B., a brother of the Old Pauline Bishop of Chichester. He was Under Secretary for Ireland when Mr. Balfour was Chief Secretary, and for eight years was Governor of Ceylon.

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., was Governor of the Straits Settlements, and, like his brother, Colonel Montagu Clementi, formerly Judge Advocate-General in India, Sir Cecil has served his turn as Master of the Mercers' Company, has sent his sons to St. Paul's, and has in every possible way served the interests of the school. Sir R. J. Crosthwaite held high judicial office in India, and Baden Henry Powell, C.I.E., the brother of Sir George Baden Powell, M.P., was Judge at Lahore. W. M. Deane, C.M.G., commanded the police at Hong Kong.

Colonel A. F. Laughton served in the Indian Army, and A. W. Gay, D.S.O., in the Royal Artillery.

Among men of letters educated by Dr. Kynaston mention must be made of the late W. Cosmo Monkhouse, a well-known art critic and poet, Dorset Eccles, I.S.O., of the British Museum, and the late Archibald Little, a frequent writer on Far Eastern topics.

The names of the late Canon A. L. Moore, tutor of Keble, and contributor to *Lux Mundi*, A. E. Cowley, sub-librarian at the Bodleian and A. R. F. Hyslop, who after many years as assistant master at Harrow was elected to the wardenship of Glenalmond, may well close this list.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS AND THE SCHOOL

DURING Dr. Kynaston's high mastership began the period of doubt and uncertainty as to the future disposition of the proceeds of Colet's estate, which at one time appeared destined to inflict irretrievable harm to St. Paul's School.

The surplus of income over expenditure in connection with St. Paul's amounted in the middle of the nineteenth century to £2,500 per annum in spite of the fact that the high master's salary was increased from £600 a year to £900, and the salaries of the other masters were correspondingly augmented.

A committee appointed by the Mercers in 1856 reported three years later that, after taking Counsel's opinion, they were advised that the Court of Assistants had power to increase the number of boys on the foundation, but that they had no power, without the sanction of an Act of Parliament, to remove the school from the churchyard, to sell the ground on which it stood, or to purchase other ground and erect another school outside the metropolis. Counsel further advised that the Mercers had no power to employ the surplus funds for boarding and lodging the boys as well as providing them with education.

A second committee, which was appointed in July 1859, two months before the first committee presented its report, recommended the creation of another school in the country

supported and maintained out of the surplus of Colet's estate, while the number of boys at St. Paul's, they proposed, should be increased to two hundred, accommodation for these to be obtained by throwing the masters' houses into the school.

A third proposal, which did not receive much support, was completely to alter the existing buildings in order that three hundred boys and not a hundred and fifty-three should be educated in the school.

By 1860 the whole question of the administration of the trust was becoming more and more urgent. The accumulated surplus amounted to £33,000 which yielded an income of £1,250 a year in addition to £2,500, which was the annual excess of income over expenditure.

At this juncture the Mercers took the advice of "learned and discreet men," and consulted the Bishops of London, Llandaff and Manchester, and Chief Baron Pollock, the first of whom, Dr. Tait, was an old schoolmaster, the others being all Old Paulines.

The unanimous opinion of these four distinguished men was in favour of the removal of the school from the city, while maintaining its character as a London school.

A proposal which was warmly advocated by Mr. J. W. Blakesley, an Old Pauline member of the company, who afterwards became Dean of Lincoln, was that the school should be removed from its site not, as the bishops and the Chief Baron proposed, to another part of London, but to the country. This scheme met with much support. The buildings and site of the East India Company's College at Haileybury came into the market at this time, but before the Mercers' proposals to purchase them from the Department of Woods and Forests had taken definite form, they were purchased and set up in their present form as a proprietary public school.

recommendations of the commissioners. In spite of the adverse vote of the Chairman of the Committee, the Prince of Wales, the Mercers gained their point.

The gist of the objection of the Mercers to the proposed legislation is to be found in the statement of their spokesman in giving evidence before Lord Clarendon's Commission. "The Mercers' Company do not admit themselves trustees, in the legal sense of the term, of the Coletine estates, but they acknowledge that they are bound to maintain the school."

The question of the interest held by the Mercers in Dean Colet's estates had arisen three years before the appointment of Lord Clarendon's Commission. In 1858 Baron Lionel de Rothschild entered into negotiations with the Mercers' Company for the exchange of property belonging to St. Paul's School in Buckinghamshire, for an estate belonging to Baron Lionel at Oundle, in Northamptonshire.

The agreement was not actually completed and eventually the company declined to carry it out. Thereupon, at the relation of Baron de Rothschild, an information was filed by the Attorney-General against the company, seeking to have the agreement carried into effect, alleging that the contract for the exchange was beneficial to the charity, and further praying that it might be declared that the company and the Court of Assistants were trustees of all the estates vested in them, by conveyance from, and under the will of Dean Colet, and of estates purchased or taken in exchange by them out of the school funds, for the benefit of St. Paul's School, and for no other purpose, and ought to be applied accordingly, and that the agreement should be performed, the plaintiff undertaking to perform it on his part, and requiring the company to apply to the Charity Commissioners for power to take all necessary steps for the purpose of completing the exchange.

The company denied that there was any contract with Baron de Rothschild. They claimed to be absolutely entitled in their own right, and not as trustees, to that part of the income of the property assured to them by Dean Colet which was not required for the "Chargis Ordinary oute Paide yerely," set out by the founder at the end of the school statutes, which amounted to £80 5s.

It was, however, argued at the Bar on behalf of the company, that the "chargis" intended by the founder were not a fixed charge of £80 5s., but the charge of maintaining in its integrity the institution which Dean Colet wished to have maintained effectually and completely, and the company submitted, subject to that, that they were entitled to the surplus of the property. As to the main subject-matter of the litigation, the Buckinghamshire estates, the company stated that they were actually Colet's estates, which they had held for upwards of three hundred and fifty years, and considering the fact that the Oundle estate was only worth about £8,000 more than those in Buckinghamshire, they did not think it desirable, even if the interests of the charity alone were concerned—if a charity it were—that the exchange should take place.¹

Vice-Chancellor Sir William Page-Wood ultimately dismissed² the information and bill with costs, and without prejudice to any question as to the claim of the Mercers' Company to hold the estates originally conveyed to them by Dean Colet, and those subsequently purchased out of the surplus of any rents or profits of those estates for their own benefit or not in trust for charity.

The Attorney-General soon after filed an information seeking to have it declared that the company were trustees

¹ Royal Com. on City of Lond. Livery Cos., Rep. and App., vol. ii. 1884, pp. 36-43.

² *Times*, May 7 and 13, 1862.

for St. Paul's School of the whole of the Coletine estates, and Vice-Chancellor Sir W. M. James held that the company were trustees and were bound to account for the whole of the income of the estates held in trust for the school.¹

It was during the hearing of this second information that Sir George Jessel had occasion to refer during his argument to the fact that Vice-Chancellor Wood in the former case had been unable to suggest any reason why Dean Colet fixed on the number of a hundred and fifty-three for his scholars. "The Vice-Chancellor," said the Jewish Counsel, speaking of a judge who was an active Sunday School teacher, "has asked why the number of scholars was fixed at a hundred and fifty-three. His Honour seems to have forgotten the miraculous draught of fishes."

The decision of the Court of Chancery that the Mercers' Company were in no sense the beneficial owners of the estates of the school, and its omission from the schedule to the Public Schools Act of 1868 brought it, by mere operation of law,² within the mischief of the Endowed Schools Act of the following year, which created the Endowed Schools Commission, a body elected *ad hoc* under the chairmanship of Lord Lyttleton. A few years later this independent body ceased to exist, and its functions were transferred to a department of the Charity Commission.

One of the last acts of the Endowed Schools Commission was to formulate a scheme for the expenditure of the rents and profits of the Coletine estates. This scheme contemplated the maintenance of three separate schools, a classical school for five hundred boys, a modern school for five hundred boys, and a school for four hundred girls. A hundred and fifty-three free scholars were to

¹ *Times*, 11 and 12 Feb. 1870. *Law Journal Reports*, 1870, p. 222.

² This is not strictly accurate. The preamble of the Endowed Schools Act applied it to all endowed schools not included in the terms of reference of the Public Schools Commission, but this part of the statute was disregarded.

be maintained in the boys' schools, seventy-seven being allocated to the classical, and seventy-six to the modern, school. This proposal, after having been altered in one or two respects at the instance of the Mercers' Company, by the Committee of the Council on Education, acquired statutory force on receiving the consent of the Queen in Council in 1876.

Public opinion, however, and the influence of Old Paulines and others was sufficiently strong to bring pressure to bear on the Charity Commission to secure the maintenance of the unity of St. Paul's School. A new scheme was made, which came into operation in 1879. The governors of the school, since 1876, comprised, in addition to the master, the three wardens and nine members appointed by the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company, three new representatives of each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. This governing body was empowered to establish in some place within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, a school for a thousand boys under two head masters, one over the classical side, which should contain five hundred boys, and one over the modern side, which should contain an equal number. It was now proposed that the high school, which was to be established out of the surplus funds, should be for not less than four hundred girls, but the number of scholarships which were to be endowed in that school was still maintained at thirty-nine. A new clause in the scheme, which was added by the Committee of the Council to the draft issued by the Charity Commissioners, provided that the religious instruction in both schools should be according to the principles of the Church of England. Under the provisions of the scheme of 1879 St. Paul's School was moved to its new home at West Kensington, and remained under the single control of Mr. Walker. The reason for this was, that so long as the number of boys in the school was less

than five hundred, it was possible to regard them as constituting one department of the school, and to allow the proviso as to the dual control of the school under a classical and a modern head master to lie dormant.

The progress made by the school, and the increase in its numbers, within a few years after the removal from the city, to over six hundred, rendered the separate organization of the modern department imperative, if the provisions of the statutory scheme were to be complied with.

The governors, in consequence, applied, in June 1891, to the Charity Commission for directions, and on consideration the Commission held that a new scheme alone could relieve the governors from the duty of establishing forthwith a dual head mastership.

The success of Mr. Walker, under the existing mode of conducting the school, had been so remarkable that the opinion of those most concerned in the future of St. Paul's led to the drafting by the Charity Commission of a new scheme, in order that the unity of the school under one head might be secured. The draft of this scheme was published on March 6, 1893.

By this it was proposed that two new lower-grade schools should be founded, called respectively Dean Colet's Boys' and Girls' School. The income of each of these was to be £2,500 a year, while the balance of Dean Colet's revenues—namely, £8,000 a year—was to be left to St. Paul's. The new schools were to be "modern" schools, containing respectively five hundred boys and four hundred girls.

By Clause 75 of this draft scheme, it was proposed to restrict one-third of the hundred and fifty-three foundation scholarships on entrance to St. Paul's School to boys not over the age of sixteen, who were, or had been, for at least two years, at an endowed school under the Endowed Schools Act, the ordinary tuition fees at which were not

more than £15 a year, or who had been for not less than three years scholars at any public elementary school in the metropolitan school district. A further provision reduced the total annual sum devoted to leaving exhibitions from £1,700 to £1,000, the yearly proceeds of the Campden Trust. Very strong feeling was aroused by the drastic nature of these proposals. The *Times* pointed out that they involved a complete change in a school which had only recently been re-established with all the appliances of a first-rate public school, and of which the Master of Balliol had recently stated that its classical and mathematical scholars had obtained more University distinctions than any other public school in the country.

Pursuant to Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act of 1873, such draft schemes must be lodged for criticism and objection in the office of the Charity Commission for two months. They have then to remain for one or two months with the Committee of the Council on Education, and objection may be made in writing to the Education Department. They have then to be returned to the Charity Commission, whose duty it is to embody in the scheme any recommendations of the Committee of the Council. Finally, they have to lie for forty days on the tables of both Houses of Parliament, any member of which may move to reject them.

Strong recommendations were accordingly made to the right quarters by the various sections of people interested in the school who were anxious to save it from such disastrous changes. Meetings were held of the Old Pauline Club, of Old Paulines at Oxford and Cambridge, of parents of Paulines, and of assistant masters in the school, to protest against the proposed changes.

The protests were in the main concerned with Clause 75, which proposed by an artificial lowering of the standard by means of limited competition to introduce into the school

boys from elementary and secondary schools, but which by making no provision for such necessary expenses as travelling, scientific apparatus, books and athletics would prevent them taking a proper part in the life of the school. The means by which these scholars were to be elected on a basis of severely restricted competition was thought a most objectionable change from the existing practice by which all the foundation scholarships were open to free and unrestricted competition.

Power was given in the scheme to charge fees to the hundred and two scholars who were not elected from the restricted class, and it was urged that the reduction in the income of the school from the Coletine fund would make it necessary to employ these permissive powers, a line of action to which the probable reduction in the number of capitation scholars resulting from the diminution of leaving exhibitions, and the change in the class of boys in the school would also inevitably tend.

Public opinion concerning the school was sufficiently strong to cause the scheme to be modified in the month of August 1893. Clause 75 was dropped, and thus disappeared the proposal to benefit an arbitrarily defined class at the expense of the rest. The clause which gave power to burden foundation scholars with fees was retained. Under the modified scheme, the £8,000 per annum allocated to St. Paul's was no longer liable to charges for the repair of the school fabric, and the payment of exhibitions ceased to be a charge confined to the proceeds of the Campden Trust. The *Times*,¹ in a leading article, expressed "the feelings of gratification and relief by all who have at heart the prosperity of that ancient and flourishing foundation . . . the greatest, the most successful and the most popular of London day schools."

¹ August 3, 1893.

The Charity Commission, as the *Times* remarked, had retired from an untenable position, but a new provision destined to prolong the struggle enacted that the London County Council should for the future be empowered to nominate three of the members of the governing body.

The provisions of Clause 15 of a new scheme, of April 1894, limited the annual income of the school to £8,000 exclusive of the cost of permanent structural improvements. This involved a reduction, amounting to between £2,500 and £3,000 a year, in the annual grant made at that time to the school from the foundation. The means available for meeting this deficit were as follows. By Clause 58 the governors were empowered to raise the tuition fees to £30 a year. By Clause 65 holders of scholarships might be "granted exemption from the whole or any part of the tuition fees," power being given to charge them £10 a year. Thirdly, the leaving exhibitions, which amounted to £1,700 a year, were derived—excluding £930 from the Campden Trust—from a grant from the foundation which it was possible to discontinue.

The Mercers' Company, the Old Pauline Club, a hundred and twenty Old Paulines resident at Oxford and Cambridge, and the parents of Paulines memorialized Mr. Acland, the Vice-president of the Committee of the Council on Education, pointing out the objection to the presence of representatives of the London County Council, on the ground that the school was not a local school.

To the request for a more just proportion of the amount accruing from the Coletine estates, the Vice-president replied by proposing that the share of St. Paul's School should be not £8,000, as the Charity Commission had laid down, but £9,000, a sum which left the school with a very small annual surplus, which a reduction in the number of boys in the school, or a rise in rates or taxes would have turned into a deficit.

FREDERICK W. WALKER, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL



wealthy citizens of Manchester for the development of the grammar school. At the opening of the new buildings of the school in 1871, Professor Jowett prophesied that Mr. Walker would become the most distinguished head master in England. Among the notable men whom he educated at Manchester Dr. Diggle, the present Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. Justice Hamilton, Sir Frank Lockwood and Dr. Wood, the head master of Harrow, may be mentioned.

Mr. Walker's position on assuming the high mastership of St. Paul's in 1877 was no easy one. The growth of the city, the inability of Dr. Kynaston to maintain discipline, the automatic awards of leaving exhibitions to the whole of the head boys in the Eighth, and the prolonged uncertainty as to the future of the school, had all contributed to make it appear that St. Paul's was destined to dwindle and decay.

Mr. Walker at once threw into the school two of the masters' houses, and provided room for seventy capitation scholars in addition to the hundred and fifty-three who were educated on the foundation. The staff of masters was doubled. In 1879 natural science and drawing were for the first time taught in the school. The science forms established simultaneously by Mr. Walker at Manchester, and Dr. Percival, now Bishop of Hereford, at Clifton, were the two first "modern sides" in any English public school, and Mr. Walker copied at St. Paul's his own successful experiment at Manchester. The removal of the school from the site which it had occupied for two hundred and seventy-five years, the maintenance of the old traditions amidst new surroundings, the organization of a school which after its removal increased every year until it had grown to four times its original size, all these were matters in which the genius of Mr. Walker found scope for its exercise.

The establishment of boarding houses on the removal of the school to West Kensington re-introduced an element

ornamentation. Of these windows, one was erected in memory of Rev. E. H. R. Watts, M.D., one of the most inspiring science masters who ever taught in the school, another was erected by his mother in memory of E. Orme Wilson, a boy of eighteen, who died within six months after leaving St. Paul's, a third was placed in position by Dr. Collison Morley, in gratitude for the education of his son.

From the handsome central bay of the main corridor, effectively decorated on either side by three lights containing the armorials of seventeenth-century high masters, erected by the *Pauline* magazine, one passes into the Board room, which occupies a fine position in the centre of the building, and from which a long row of windows look out upon the school close.

Above the oak panelling over the fireplace at the south end hangs the portrait of Lord Chancellor Truro, by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., bequeathed to the school by Lady Truro. Corresponding to this, at the other end of the room, hangs Mr. William Rothenstein's portrait of Mr. F. W. Walker, the late high master, which was presented to him on his retirement. Oil paintings of two other high masters, Benjamin Morland and John Sleath, also hang in this room, and an unknown portrait in oils hanging over the door was identified by Sir Frederick Halliday, on a visit to the school shortly before his death, as being that of Richard Edwards, an Old Pauline who, in 1783, became chaplain, and in 1806 became surmaster of the school. Engravings of Dr. Roberts and Dr. Kynaston are also upon the walls.

In this room also is to be seen an interesting portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, presented in 1899 by Mr. H. C. Taylor, the work of J. van Hugtenburgh, an artist who was engaged by Prince Eugene to paint the battles of his campaigns. Another portrait of the Duke of Marlborough in

early life (after J. Closterman) was presented to the school by Captain Robert Noel in 1905.

A recent addition to these portraits, the gift of the present high master, is a reproduction of the portrait of Milton at the age of ten, painted by Cornelius Janssen, a painter who has been described as equal to Van Dyck in all except freedom of hand and grace. It represents the poet as he was when he entered St. Paul's as a charmingly pretty little boy, with a serious face beneath a closely cropped head, dressed in a tightly fitting black braided dress adorned with a neat lace frill. The chief treasure of the Board room is the bust of Dean Colet, the one relic preserved of the school before the fire. It was on it that Leland, who died in 1552, wrote this epigram—

“Eloquio iuvenes vbi Lillius illepolliuit,
In statua spiras imagne Colete tua.
Quam si Praxiteles fecisset magnus et ille,
Forsitan aquasset, non superasset opus.
Hac salua statua, diuini forma Coleti
Temporibus longis non peritura manet.”

It is not known by whom this bust was executed. It may reasonably be supposed to have been a companion to the one placed by the Mercers' Company over the dean's monument in the cathedral, and it has been suggested by an expert that it may be the work of Torrigiano, who was working at Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey in the year of Colet's death. In 1887 the successive coats of paint which had been laid on the bust were removed, and were found to be seventeen in number, including in addition to an attempt at “natural colouring,” such different tints as yellow ochre, pure white, umber and red terra cotta. The original colours of the bust showed hair and eyes of a dark brown tint, carmine lips, a pale, fresh-coloured face and neck, the biretta and dress being black in conformity with the statement

of Erasmus, "non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur," while the upper edge of the inner vest was found to be marked by a streak of bronze.

The eighteenth-century marble copy of this bust, described as being made "with the attitude improved," which stood on the north wall of the schoolroom in St. Paul's Churchyard, is variously attributed¹ to Banks and to Roubillac, the sculptor of the statue in the ante-chapel of Trinity, Cambridge

"Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
The marble index of a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone."

There is earlier and better authority, however, for attributing it to John Bacon, who died in 1799, whose monument to the Earl of Chatham, the "Great Commoner," in Westminster Abbey, prompted the lines of Cowper—

"Bacon there
Gives more than female beauty to a stone,
And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips."

The Great Hall, which projects from the main building at the south-east corner, is eighty feet long, forty feet wide, and about fifty feet in height. At the north end is a large gallery of a handsome Tudor design in carved oak, and round the walls to the level of the base of the windows is carried round oak panelling, into which is inset the valuable collection of engravings of Old Paulines presented to the school by the late Dr. Collison Morley, for many years medical attendant to St. Paul's, whose generosity is commemorated by an inscription beneath his coat of arms in the central panel on the west side.

On the daïs in the apsidal south end of the great hall

¹ To Banks by Allen and Bigland, to Roubillac by Thornbury and Staunton, to Bacon by Malcolm, Wilkinson, Ackerman and Carlisle.

is placed the organ erected in memory of Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol. The organ, which was built by Willis in 1896, and was recently completed, is covered by an oak case, in a niche in the centre of which is a bust of Professor Jowett by Mr. H. R. Hope Pinker, the gift of Mr. James Bewsher, the head of the great preparatory school to St. Paul's, who was one of the many distinguished scholars sent up to Balliol during Professor Jowett's mastership by Mr. Walker, when high master of Manchester Grammar School. Beneath the series of coats of arms appropriately emblazoned on the front of the organ-case runs the inscription, "Benjamin Jowett alumni hujus scholae, postea deinceps in Collegio Balliolensi Scholaris Socii Magistri Paulini Parentes Amici dedicaverunt."

On each side of the apse in which the organ stands, are mosaic figures of St. Paul and Dean Colet respectively, the former holding a great two-handed sword and the latter dressed in cassock with a fur amice and cope. The details of his vestments were taken from the brass in Hackney Church erected in memory of Christopher Urswick, the chaplain of the Countess of Richmond, who is represented in Shakespeare's *Richard III*,¹ and who died two years after Colet. Below each of these figures are two decorative panels in which are represented swimming among the weeds, luce or small pike, the fish which is the symbolic *ἰχθύς*, of the early Church, and so recalls at once the number of scholars in the school and its dedication to the child Jesus. Above the figures, within the apex of the Gothic arch in which the design culminates, across a pattern of white lilies on a blue ground, floats a scroll bearing the verse, "Beati qui audient verbum Dei et custodiunt illud."

In February 1903 the Bishop of London unveiled and dedicated the mosaic which occupies the uppermost portion of

¹ Act IV. sc. v.

the south wall of the Great Hall. This represents the finding of the child Jesus among the doctors by the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. The central figure, "seated in the attitude of one teaching," inspired by Erasmus' description of the figure erected by Colet in the original building, was presented by Mrs. Lupton ; the rest of the mosaic is the gift of the Rev. R. J. Walker.

The decorations of this nature in the Great Hall are completed by mosaics of Erasmus, William Lily, Viscount Campden and John Milton, which occupy the spaces between the southernmost windows on the two sides of the hall respectively. The first of these was erected as a memorial of Dr. Lupton in 1900. In 1901 the high master presented the mosaic of his great predecessor, and the Mercers that of Lord Campden, and in 1903 that of Milton was erected by the *Pauline*.

In 1891 was begun at the suggestion of Mr. Pendlebury and under the supervision of Mr. Harris, the effective decoration of the Great Hall by filling the large lancet windows with the armorial bearings of distinguished Old Paulines. The design of the mullions being of such a kind as to allow the coats of arms to be inserted separately, the work has been proceeded with gradually, but at the present moment there is room for the insertion of only four more coats.

The late high master, the house masters, the art master (Mr. Harris), the bursar (Mr. Bewsher), Sir F. P. Barnard, an Old Pauline, Mr. W. Clarkson Birch a father of Paulines, the *Pauline* magazine, the parents of Paulines, the Old Pauline Club, and the boys in the school in 1892, comprise the generous contributors to this excellent scheme of decoration.

Each of the ten large lights contains sixteen armorials, and each of the four small ones contains four.

At the top of each window, placed beside the arms of the school are those of some institution with which it is connected, including the Universities, colleges at which exhibitions have been founded, the Deanery of St. Paul's, the Mercers' Company, the City of London and the Royal arms of England under the Tudors, and during the reign of Victoria.

At the base of each window are the arms of the most distinguished of Old Paulines. Those of Marlborough and Milton are side by side, the latter being beneath those of Charles Diodati, just as in other windows two admirals, Sir Frederick Thesiger and Sir Thomas Troubridge, two antiquaries, Camden and Leland, two men of science, Halley and Cotes, and two philanthropists, Hawes and Nelson, all are represented by coats of arms placed the one beside the other. The arms of the Boyle family appear four times, in three cases impaled with those of an episcopal see. Those of the Pollocks, that Pauline *gens juridica*, are to be seen in three places. The mitres of twenty bishops, two in each window, are blazoned all round the hall at the same level in each light, and above these are the arms of great educationalists, including those of fourteen heads of Houses at Oxford and Cambridge, ranging from William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the sixteenth century, to those of Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, Oxford, in the nineteenth.

The library is situated at the north-east corner of the building on the first floor. It contains busts of the last five high masters, extending over a period of a hundred and fifty years. That of Thicknesse, the history of which has already been dealt with, is by Hickey, that of Roberts by Nollekens, that of Sleath by Behnes, that of Kynaston by George Halse, an Old Pauline, some of whose other work is to be seen in the dining-hall, while that of Mr. Walker,

Terence of 1475 bound up in one volume, with a similar edition of Horace (1479?). Its pages are crowded with marginalia in a very early hand. Some of them are apparently in the writing of the transcriber of the Colet MS. of the *Hierarchies of Dionysius* possessed by the school, which may be that of William Lily or possibly that of Thomas Lupset.¹

There is an Ovid of 1476, a *Poetae Minores Graecae* of 1495 and a few other books before 1500. Of books produced between that year and 1525 those of chief interest are the one or two volumes of quarto Ciceros from Jehan Petit's press, the *editio princeps* of the Aldine Septuagint of 1518 with its fine rubrications, and the Polyglot Psalter of 1516. Cranmer's *Great Bible* of 1539 must also be named.

The numerous Oriental books which are to be found, show the influence of Postlethwayt and also of Gale, who, after the fire, formed the nucleus of the library as we have it now. Dr. Gale's copy of *Iamblichus* contains MS. additions by the high master himself.

Reference has already been made to the early Latin grammars and also to the Stephanus *Thesaurus* presented by Pepys to the library. The name of the diarist is also to be seen stamped in gilt letters on Baudraud's *Lexicon*.

A fairly complete set of early editions of Milton is also to be seen, and the library contains Robert Burns' copy of Milton's poems with his own autograph.

Some eighteenth-century bronze tradesmen's tokens, on which are cut views of the second school, are also preserved in the library, which now contains nearly 10,000 books. The last important addition to the library was the Blouet bequest, while in 1901 Dr. F. H. M. Blaydes, the well-known scholar and critic of Greek literature, whose eldest son was educated at the school, presented to St. Paul's the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 6, vol. i. p. 449.

greater part of his classical library, amounting to 1,300 books. He also gave the school nearly eighty valuable specimens of marble and a large collection of curios, in addition to a fine set of eighteenth-century engravings of Italian scenery which now hang in the dining-hall.

The dining-hall, which with the kitchen occupies the whole of the upper floor of the west wing of the building, is a fine room 125 feet long and 41 feet wide. Nearly two hundred boys lunch here every day. Its main drawbacks are the lowness of the roof and the absence of decoration. Now that the windows in the Great Hall have been all but filled it is to be hoped that the arms of some of the distinguished Old Paulines who have not yet been commemorated in this way, will be emblazoned in the dining-hall, the great west window of which would lend itself peculiarly well to such treatment.

The chemical laboratory, although much smaller, occupies on the east of the school a position corresponding to that of the dining-hall on the west. Behind the chemical laboratory is the biological laboratory, and the large room to the east is the school museum.

The art school, in which there is room for ninety boys at a time, occupies the whole of the central part of the building on the first floor. Of the work done there under the able art master, Mr. Harris, who has been at the school for just thirty years, it is only necessary to point to the fact that in the public schools' drawing competition instituted by the *Daily Graphic* in 1893, St. Paul's gained the diploma for the best set of drawings which were sent in, while the artistic exhibits of St. Paul's at the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908 were admittedly far superior to those of any other public school.

Among the distinguished colleagues whose support Mr. Walker enjoyed during his long high mastership, pride of

place must be given to Dr. Joseph Hurst Lupton, who became surmaster in 1864 and retained that post for thirty-five years. He had been fifth classic at Cambridge, and was a Fellow of St. John's College, and at St. Paul's, in addition to his scholastic work, he devoted himself to the care of the library and to historical research connected with the school, his chief work being the *Life of Dean Colet* and his edition of the extant writings of the founder, in addition to an edition of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, whilst his contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* were very numerous. In 1890 he was elected preacher of Gray's Inn, a dignified position which he held at the same time as the surmastership, and during his tenure of which one might well have heard applied to him those lines of W. M. Praed—

“you'll hear
The doctrine of a gentle Johnian,
Whose hand is white, whose tone is clear,
Whose phrase is very Ciceronian.”

His farewell speech at the Apposition of 1899 will long be remembered as a singularly beautiful expression of the mind of a scholar, and one cannot do better than quote the high master's description of him as “a consummate type of Christian gentleman.”

Dr. Lupton's successor, Mr. J. W. Shepard, came to the school as fourth master in 1861, became third master in 1875, and surmaster in 1899, but resigned three years later.

Mr. Shepard was a school-master whose *joie de vivre* was reflected in every lesson which he gave, and a clergyman who was described by a very good critic as second only to Liddon as a preacher. Although Dr. Jowett offered him every Balliol living that came into his gift, Mr. Shepard was not to be enticed away from St. Paul's.

Mr. Shepard's successor as surmaster, the Rev. R. B.

Gardiner, is an Old Pauline who entered the school in 1854. While an undergraduate at Wadham, Mr. Gardiner was cox of the winning trial eight in 1863. In 1875 he was appointed fourth master of St. Paul's on the old foundation, and has therefore described himself with justice as the Mercers' "last surviving servant under Colet's statutes." For twenty-eight years Mr. Gardiner was a house master at St. Paul's, but his chief claim to the gratitude of his school-fellows lies in the pious care which prompted him to undertake the laborious compilation of the registers of the school, the first volume of which was published in 1884, and the second in 1906. In recognition of his historical research he was in 1887 elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

The three masters with whom we have dealt were all appointed to the school before the election of Mr. Walker. The same must be said of Dr. A. W. Verrall, who also was for a few years an assistant master at St. Paul's.

On Mr. Walker's election, no less than six additional masters were appointed. Of these, Mr. W. G. Rutherford was recommended to the high master by Professor Jowett as "one of the few men who can really think about language." From St. Paul's he went to Westminster School, where he was head master for many years. He has been described as the greatest Greek scholar produced by England since Bentley.

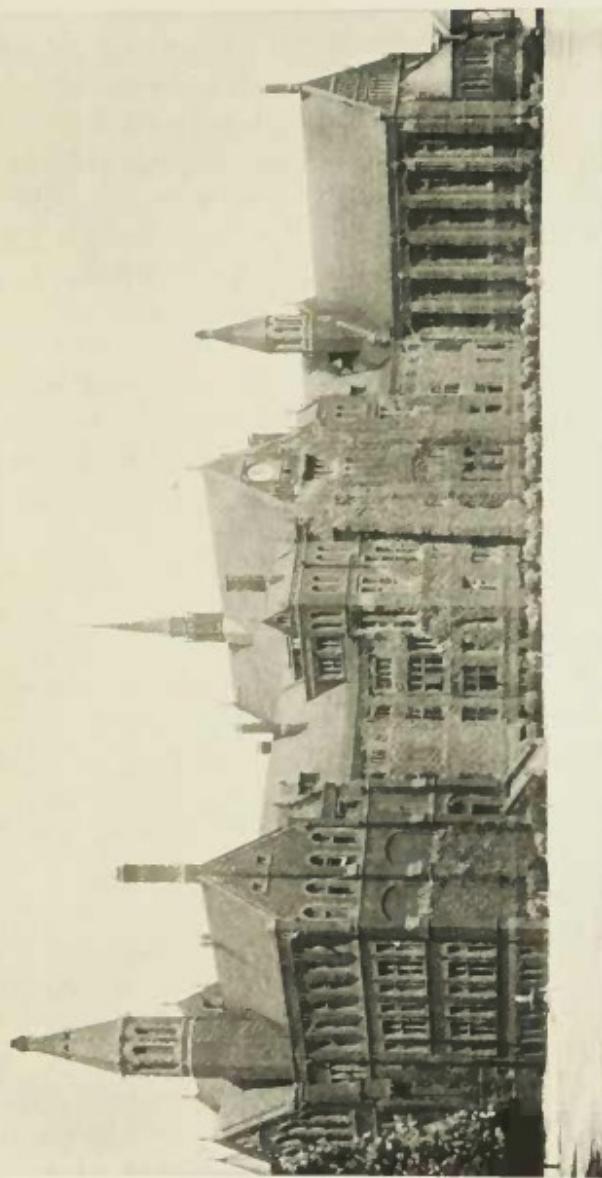
M. Paul Blouet, who was appointed French master by Mr. Walker in 1877, had gained the Cross of the Legion of Honour for his gallant services in the Horse Artillery of the Imperial Guard in the Franco-Prussian war, and at the second siege of Paris during the Commune. Years after, Mr. Walker described him as the most brilliant French teacher he had ever known. M. Blouet, who wrote and lectured after leaving St. Paul's under the pseudonym of

"tempietto," has a base of three steps surmounted by seven columns of the Tuscan order, and an entablature with a panelled and ribbed copper dome. On the frieze is the inscription "Paulinorum virtutis in Africa spectatae recordentur posteri," while the copper panels which surround the drinking fountain in the centre bear the names of the eleven Old Paulines who are commemorated.

The latest of Mr. Walker's pupils to distinguish themselves in the Army are two Old Paulines who were mentioned in dispatches in connection with the Zakka Khel expedition of 1908.

Lieutenant A. B. Forman, R.A., was one of the six officers selected for special mention by the commander-in-chief in the special memorandum issued on the loss of the *Warren Hastings* off Réunion in 1896, and finally we must mention the highest distinction of any achieved by an Old Pauline officer in the Army, the Victoria Cross awarded to Captain Randolph Nesbitt, who in 1899 led a patrol of thirteen men from Salisbury, Rhodesia, and safely brought back a small party of men and women in the teeth of a thousand Mashonas.

A remarkable number of foundation prizes were established in the school during the high mastership of Mr. Walker. The first of these, in memory of the high mastership of his predecessor, the Kynaston Prize for Philology, was founded in 1877. Four years later the Bedford Prize for History was established to commemorate Francis J. Bedford, the captain of the school who was accidentally drowned in Scotland. In 1884 the Ollivant Prize for Greek Testament was founded in memory of Alfred Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, who at the date of his death was president of the Old Pauline Club, and who, sixty-eight years earlier, was captain of the school. The John Watson Prizes for Drawing and Painting were founded in 1888, in memory of a



ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AT THE PRESENT DAY



governor of the school, and in the following year a prize for English Literature was founded by an Old Pauline, Joshua Butterworth, F.S.A., Master of the Stationers' Company, and head of the well-known firm of law publishers. In the same year Sir Samuel Montagu, Bart., M.P. (now Lord Swaythling), whose eldest son, Hon. Lionel Montagu, was educated in the school, founded a prize for German which bears his name.

The Lupton Prize, which was founded in 1900, is awarded for a knowledge of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and commemorates the surmastership for thirty-five years of Dr. J. H. Lupton. In 1902 an Old Pauline endowed by his will prizes for original work of a scientific and practical nature, which he had annually awarded from 1884 till the date of his death in memory of his father, Alfred Smee, F.R.S., who also was an Old Pauline. Finally, in 1904, W. H. Winterbotham, Official Solicitor to the High Court of Justice, the father of seven foundation scholars in the school, founded the Winterbotham Scholarship, which is held by the head classical boy during his last year at the school.

The Master of Balliol, in his speech at the opening of the new school buildings in 1884, said that he could remember the palmy days of St. Paul's under Dr. Sleath, when there were at one time five or six Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, from among its scholars. "The school," Professor Jowett continued, "is beginning again under new auspices, and far more favourable conditions than hitherto. I wish you a success worthy of your old traditions, worthy of your able and distinguished high master, who is so deservedly popular among you, worthy of the noble building in which you are assembled, and worthy of the great man who was your founder."

Never have wishes been more completely fulfilled. Not

even Shrewsbury, when at the height of her career, could point to so consistently successful an academic record as could St. Paul's under Mr. Walker. The phenomenal success of the school reached its climax in 1899, when twenty-nine open scholarships were gained at Oxford and Cambridge, including two at Balliol, Oxford, and three at Trinity, Cambridge.

Twenty-six college fellowships have been held by Mr. Walker's pupils at Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1900 the high master was able to announce that St. Paul's had repeated its achievement of the days of Sleath, in that five of its alumni were at the same time holding fellowships at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Of the ten holders from 1892-1901 of the Derby Scholarship at Oxford, which is awarded to the man who has gained the greatest number of distinctions in classical learning, five were Old Paulines. In ten years the Hertford Scholarship was eight times gained by Mr. Walker's pupils. Old Paulines gained twelve Craven, and fourteen Ireland, Scholarships.

The Pauline honour list includes also seven Gaisford Prizes for Greek, seven Chancellor's Prizes, three Boden Scholarships for Sanskrit, two Eldon Scholarships for law, two Newdigate Prizes, two Hall Houghton Prizes, a Liddon Memorial Scholarship, an Abbott Scholarship and a Cobden Essay Prize.

At Cambridge Pauline distinctions have been no less remarkable. They include seven Chancellor's Medals, two Porson Prizes, two Battie Scholarships, and two Whewell Scholarships.

Two Old Paulines won Sir William Browne's Medal, two gained the Craven Scholarship, and two the Member's Essay Prize.

Four Stewart of Rannoch Scholarships were carried off

by Mr. Walker's pupils, and three Allen and two Bell Scholarships were gained by Old Paulines. The Adams, the Mason, the Tyrwhitt, and the Winchester Prizes have each been gained once by Old Paulines, and six successive pupils of Mr. Walker have won the Barnes Scholarship, which is open to the competition of Old Boys from St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors' and Christ's Hospital.

Before Mr. Walker became high master of St. Paul's, only two Old Paulines had ever been senior wranglers at Cambridge. Of these, the first, Samuel Vince, became Plumian Professor of Astronomy, and Jonathan Pollock rose to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Four of Mr. Walker's pupils became senior wranglers, and seven have gained what has recently been a still more coveted honour, the Smith's Prize.

When it is remembered that the first Pauline admitted to the school in Mr. Walker's high mastership is only just forty-five years of age, and that, therefore, the careers of most of his pupils are only just begun, it will be admitted that the record of the boys educated by him at St. Paul's include many of marked distinction.

We have already seen the results of his training in the careers of his pupils who have entered the Army. To these may be added the Egyptian Orders of the Medjidieh awarded to Captain E. C. Midwinter, D.S.O., and H. F. Barber, and that of the Osmanieh gained by Captain M. G. Manifold.

Mr. Walker educated G. T. Walker, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and another of his pupils, Professor Bertram Hopkinson, is the present occupant of the Chair of Mechanism at Cambridge. The University laboratory was erected as a memorial to his father and brother, the latter of whom was killed in the Alps while a school-boy at St. Paul's. Dr. C. G. Seligman is an anthropologist distin-

guished for his researches among the Veddas of Ceylon, A. B. Cook is Reader in Classical Archaeology at Cambridge, Kirsopp Lake is Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the University of Leyden. At Oxford W. M. Geldart is All Souls' Reader in English Law, and C. R. Beazley is Professor of History at the University of Birmingham, while G. M. Hildyard is Reader in Equity to the Council of Legal Education.

Harold Hodge is editor of the *Saturday Review*, and among other distinguished Pauline men of letters may be mentioned Laurence Binyon, G. K. Chesterton, Edward Thomas, Laurie Magnus, Vaughan Cornish and Martin Hardie.

The late S. A. Strong, who was Librarian to the House of Lords and to the Duke of Devonshire, and was noted for his knowledge of Sanskrit and his study of renaissance art, was educated at St. Paul's, as was the newly appointed member of the chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon S. A. Alexander, who for several years held the post of Reader to the Temple, and who some years ago was nominated to a canonry of Hereford at a time when his standing as a clergyman was not sufficiently long for his appointment to be valid.

Four of Mr. Walker's pupils are masters at Eton College, two are on the staff at Winchester and others are at Harrow, Westminster and Marlborough.

Several Old Paulines exhibit every year at the Academy and other exhibitions. Chief among these may be named Geoffrey Strachan, R.B.A.

It must not be forgotten that more than a hundred of Mr. Walker's most brilliant pupils have for a time hidden their light under a bushel by passing into the higher branches of the Civil Service, at home, in India, in Egypt and in the colonies. One may expect to hear much of

them in the future as permanent heads of departments at home and as leading administrators abroad.

The time has not yet come for a full appreciation of the services of Mr. Walker to St. Paul's to be written. Of his influence on the course of education in England, it is enough to say that he was the one head master of his time who attempted to show that education of the best possible kind, both moral and intellectual, could be given in surroundings different from those of the stereotyped public boarding schools.

Mr. Walker's appreciation of the value of the blend of a corporate school life with the amenities of the home was the first important factor in the history of English education since the establishment of the numerous Victorian public schools.

His insistence upon the value of a wise parental influence, which, he was never tired of asserting, could in no circumstances be vicariously wielded by a school-master, caused him, as many parents can testify, to be not merely the sage guardian of countless Paulines, but also in many instances, the guide, philosopher and friend of their fathers and, perhaps, even more of their mothers.

The kindness of heart which he concealed under a stern exterior was totally free from that sentimentality which in some school-masters tends to make their pupils prigs.

His unquestioned authority in the government of the school was due to the benevolent despotism which he exercised and to the full measure of latitude, free from petty interference in non-essentials, which he allowed to masters and to boys alike.

The unswerving purpose with which he pursued his ideals made him the central figure in the fighting line, during the long struggle with the doctrinaires of a public department through which the school was compelled to

pass, and the modesty which made him dislike all personal distinction caused him to regard the academic and other successes of his pupils not, as has been unjustly said of him, as of intrinsic value, but merely as the first step in the development of the careers of those who had been entrusted to his charge. No public school-master of our day has more richly deserved that praise applied by Cowley to his old master at Westminster that "he taught but boys but he made them men." The four thousand Paulines who passed through St. Paul's during the twenty-nine years of Mr. Walker's high mastership owe much to his discernment of character, to his rigid sense of justice, and to his careful foresight, but more than all they are indebted to him for the early inculcation of a serious habit of mind and for a constant example of a man who with unerring instinct could distinguish between things of importance and things that are vain.

Professor Jowett's ungrudging admiration of Mr. Walker has already been referred to. During the last three or four years of Jowett's life, Mr. Walker had some difficulty in escaping the gift of a large sum of money which the Master of Balliol was desirous of spending on St. Paul's, but which the high master thought it his duty, if possible, to evade. Few who heard it will forget the touching words of the high master's commemoration of the great Old Pauline at the Apposition of 1894. Mr. Walker, speaking of Jowett, said that in the last weeks of his life "he gave days and nights of labour to what he held to be the interests of St. Paul's, and less than a week before his death, when it was plain that his death was nigh, he summoned me to his side, and with all his accustomed lucidity gave me counsel and direction respecting the future of St. Paul's, and—what I shall never again receive from any—loving and fatherly encouragement."

Among those who have been chosen to be high master of St. Paul's there have been great names, such as those of Lily and Malym, Mulcaster and Gill, Gale and Postlethwayt, Thicknesse and Sleath, but not one of these has come so near to the founder's ideal of what his high master should be—"an honeste and vertuouse and lernyd man"—as has Mr. Walker.

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CHAPTER XXIV

CONCLUSION

ALBERT ERNEST HILLARD, HIGH MASTER, 1905

ON the resignation of Mr. Walker, the Rev. A. E. Hillard was appointed to succeed him in May 1905. Dr. Hillard, who was a scholar of Christ Church, took a first in both Mods. and Greats at Oxford, and immediately after taking his degree was appointed to Clifton College, where he remained as assistant master and chaplain for nearly ten years. In 1899 he became head master of Durham School, and became well known as the author of a number of textbooks on classical and biblical subjects which are in general use throughout the public schools.

His successor at Durham became head master of Uppingham a short time afterwards.

Dr. Hillard's appointment to the high mastership was made less than four years ago. It is therefore impossible to do more than devote a few lines to the changes which he has introduced into the school, while at the same time he has maintained the essential features which made Mr. Walker's administration so successful, a fact which is shown by the twenty-two scholarships gained by his pupils at Oxford and Cambridge this year.

The new pronunciation of Latin, which was introduced in 1908, has brought St. Paul's into line with most other public schools where the traditional method has been abandoned.

The development of the modern side of the school has been marked by the appointment of additional science and modern language masters, and German, which was formerly only an optional subject, has become part of the regular curriculum in certain forms.

The quater-centenary buildings, which have been erected, at a cost of £10,000, on a piece of land purchased for the purpose on the north of the swimming bath, and which reproduce in colour and design the main buildings of the school, contain six rooms, each of which is to serve as a classroom, lecture-room and laboratory. They were opened on July 7, 1909, by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Sunday morning services are held in the Great Hall at intervals throughout the term, and the Bishop of London has instituted a special annual confirmation service for Paulines at St. Paul's Cathedral.

The new playing field of eight acres which has been opened has relieved the pressure on the school ground. The rifle range has been enlarged, and shooting has been made compulsory, while the creation of school prefects has added to the responsibility vested in boys chosen out of the head forms. A junior debating society has been started for the benefit of the lower school.

By the will of Mrs. Charlotte Sarah Greenhill, a sum of £5,000 has been left to St. Paul's School to found a "Gainer" Scholarship for classics or Eastern languages, or either or both, tenable at Pembroke College, Oxford.

The bequest was intended by Mrs. Greenhill as a memorial of her brother, William Charles Gainer, a barrister of the Inner Temple, who was one of the last boys admitted to the school by Dr. Sleath in 1838, and who died in 1892. The old-world ways and dress of Mr. Gainer caused him to be known for many years in St. James's as "the master of Boodles."

The foundation of an Oration Prize has been a fitting addition to the awards in a school the traditions of which come down from the earliest English humanists, a band of men who had a strong belief in the educational value of the art of rhetoric.

A Geography Prize was founded in 1906 by the Hon. R. W. Hamilton, Judge in Mombasa, one of the three sons of Sir Robert Hamilton, Governor of Tasmania, who were educated at St. Paul's.

The part taken by St. Paul's in the celebrations of the tercentenary of its greatest alumnus in 1908 consisted in the fact that an Old Pauline, Mr. Laurence Binyon, was chosen to write the ode which was read at the commemoration service on the poet's birthday at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, while Sir Frederick Bridge delivered a lecture at the school on "Milton and Music," with illustrative examples rendered by the choristers of Westminster Abbey.

The quater-centenary celebrations at the school this year have included a performance of *Comus*, and a dinner to Old Paulines given by the governors. The opening of the quater-centenary buildings was attended by a distinguished company, which included two Old Pauline bishops, Dr. Knox of Manchester and Dr. Ridgeway of Chichester.

* * * *

The oldest school society at St. Paul's is the Union, a mixture of debating society, library and club, to which only boys in the head forms are admitted by ballot.

It is the oldest public school debating society in England, having been founded in 1853. Its first president, H. Tully Kingdon, and its first treasurer, H. J. Mathew, both became bishops. At the anniversary meeting, which is held every year in September, a large gathering of Old Paulines assemble, and in 1903 the jubilee of its foundation was marked by the decoration and refurnishing of its room.

In recent years four Old Paulines have been elected president of the Oxford Union and three of the Cambridge Union. In the year 1899 two successive presidents of the Unions, both at Oxford and Cambridge, were Old Paulines. The connection between Paulines and the Union at Oxford does not appear to go back so far as does their association with that at Cambridge, where two of the "Apostles" who were educated at St. Paul's, W. F. Pollock, afterwards Sir W. Pollock, and J. W. Blakesley, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, were elected president of the Union nearly eighty years ago.

The Old Pauline Club, the first president of which was Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, now comprises nearly a thousand members. It holds several dinners each year, and frequent donations are made by it to various institutions in the school. It has recently started the publication of an *Old Pauline Gazette*, and among its offshoots are cricket, football, golf and swimming clubs.

Of other school societies the oldest is the Musical Society, which was founded in 1859, and which holds concerts twice a year, in addition to frequent organ recitals.

The youngest is the Field Club, founded in 1896, which is the fruit of the late Mr. C. J. Cornish's devotion to natural history.

Of school magazines, the earliest which is known to have been produced at St. Paul's is one called *The Hermes*; the only issue of which known to be in existence was purchased for the library at a book sale in 1894. "For many years," says the address of the editors of this number, which was produced in 1832, "a paper has been published in this, our Temple of Learning, under the denomination of *Hermes*."

The Hermes ran to ten numbers. A rival, called *The*

Pauline, was started in November 1831, but only three numbers were produced, and it died in the following May.

In 1836 a new *Pauline* was launched, but it proved even less successful than its predecessor, and ceased publication within the year owing to the fact that an article entitled, "Take snuff," had given offence to Dr. Sleath.

No other magazine appears to have been started from this date until 1882, when the present *Pauline* began its successful career, which has continued without intermission until the present day.

The Pauline has lasted for nearly thirty years. It is edited and managed by a committee of masters and boys, and a token of its success is to be found in the various schemes for the decoration of the school which have been assisted from its funds, and the various prizes for the athletic sports which it has presented. At least six numbers a year are produced, and it has now reached its 175th issue.

Of unofficial magazines produced in recent years, the most interesting was *The Debater*, a short-lived periodical of which in his Apposition Speech in 1892 the high master spoke as "an unrecognized publication, to which indeed I should hesitate to give my *imprimatur*, but which gives promise that its writers, though not many of them are highly distinguished in their several classes, may yet reflect credit on their ancient school."

It is interesting in view of this to note that the leading spirits in the production of *The Debater* were G. K. Chesterton and E. C. Bentley, of the *Daily News*, R. E. Vernéde, one of the most entertaining of modern novelists, and L. R. F. Oldershaw, the present secretary of the Old Pauline Club.

The lineal descendant of *The Debater* was the *Union Magazine*, nine numbers of which were issued in 1894, and for the rest one need only mention *The Army Form Gazette*,

The Microtome, *The Octopus* and *The Octavian*, all of which ended their fitful, and sometimes stormy, career after a few months.

Although the present school Rowing Club was founded in 1881, records of Pauline rowing go back to a much earlier date than do those of any other form of athletics. From the reminiscences of Dr. C. Lempriere, contributed a few years ago to *The Taylorian*, it appears that about the year 1830 R. H. D. Barham, the son of Thomas Ingoldsby, "rowed stroke of the St Paul's School four-oar in a race which Merchant Taylors' won against them." Mr. A. Gordon Pollock, O.P., tells me that the silver rudder won by his father in 1834 as cox of the last Pauline boat which beat Westminster on the Thames used to be preserved by his uncle, Sir Charles Pollock.

In 1836 A. K. Granville stroked the first Cambridge crew which defeated Oxford. I am told that Spencer Vincent got his rowing Blue at Cambridge about 1848, but I can find no record of the fact, and I believe that many years elapsed before another Old Pauline rowed in the University boat race. In 1856, however, there were two Old Paulines in the Oxford boat, W. F. Stocken and J. H. Thorley, the latter of whom also stroked the Oxford boat in 1857 and 1858. C. H. Roberts coxed the Cambridge boat in 1872.

The greatest oar ever produced by St. Paul's was undoubtedly T. Drysdale, who, in addition to gaining his Blue for Rugby football and winning the Colquhoun Sculls, rowed for Cambridge in 1902, a year in which H. W. Adams rowed in the Oxford boat. In the following year Adams rowed again as secretary of the O.U.B.C., and St. Paul's was represented in the Cambridge boat, both in that year and in the following year, 1904, by B. G. A. Scott, who steered.

The first athletic sports were held at Old Battersea Fields, or what is now called Battersea Park, in 1861.

The annual sports have been the occasion of the only two Royal visits since that of the present King as Prince of Wales in 1864. In 1894 the Duchess of Albany distributed the prizes, and in 1897 that office was performed by Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck.

The Shepard Challenge Cup, which goes to the winner of the largest number of events, was established in memory of the tenure of the presidency of the Athletic Society by the late surmaster, a position in which his successor, Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, worked unceasingly during twenty years.

T. St. C. Smith gained his Blue for the "hundred" in 1897. E. H. Cholmeley won the high jump for Cambridge in the same year, and F. B. Macnutt ran for Cambridge in 1898. Other Blues include S. A. Tippetts, for the half mile in 1900; R. P. Franklin, for the long jump in 1907; and T. H. Just, the amateur champion, who was president of the C.U.A.C., for the half mile in 1907, 1908 and 1909.

Three Old Paulines competed in the Olympic games of 1908.

The gymnasium was built in 1890. The championship shield in the Public Schools' Gymnastic Competition at Aldershot has twice been won by St. Paul's, in 1897, and again in 1907, while in 1898 the school was third, in 1900 fifth, and in 1906 fourth in the competition.

Gymnastic matches have been held at intervals against Charterhouse, Haileybury and Dulwich.

The greatest of all Pauline athletic successes have been in boxing. In the annual Public Schools' Boxing Competition at Aldershot St. Paul's has during the last fourteen years won the feather-weights seven times, the light-weights six times, the middle-weights eight times, and the bantam-weights on the only occasion since they were introduced.

That various Old Paulines have gained their Half-blue for boxing at Oxford and Cambridge goes without saying in view of this record. B. G. A. Scott, the cox of the University boat, boxed for Cambridge in 1903, G. A. Lilly for Cambridge in 1908 and 1909, A. Mains for Oxford in 1907 and 1908, and J. W. Rutherford for Oxford in 1909.

Other Half-blues obtained by Old Paulines include that of P. G. Pearson, who played tennis for Oxford in 1897 and the three succeeding years, and those of R. H. de Montmorency, who played golf for Oxford 1897-8, and also played racquets for the University in 1899.

In 1900 the school swimming bath was opened. Water-polo matches and races are held annually with Harrow, Charterhouse, Bedford Grammar School, Dulwich and Oxford University.

The school Cadet Corps was established in 1890, and was attached to the 2nd (South) Middlesex Volunteer Corps. Since the formation of the Territorial Army it has formed a part of the Officers' Training Corps, and musters about a hundred and fifty strong.

St. Paul's has every year sent a detachment to the Public Schools' Brigade Camp ever since the establishment of that event. Although the Ashburton Shield and the Spencer Cup have never been carried off by a Pauline team, the school was sixth in the Ashburton competition in 1897, and after having been in 1901 within one point of winning the Cadets' Challenge Trophy, a Pauline team succeeded in gaining that prize in 1904. In 1906, the first year in which the competition was entered for, a team of five Old Paulines, led by Captain Langford Lloyd, D.S.O., succeeded in carrying off the Public Schools' Veterans' Shield at Bisley.

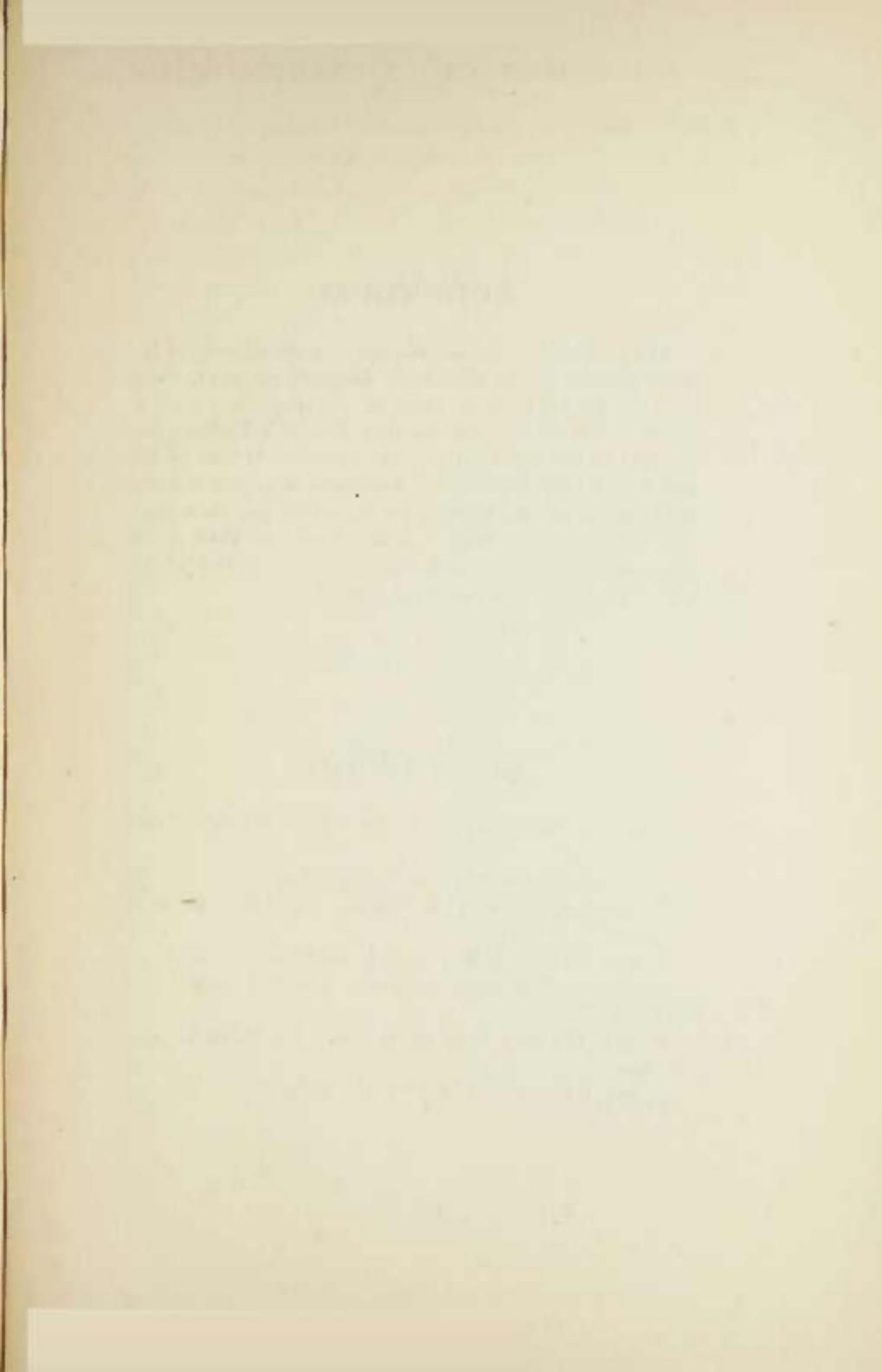
The organization of the school athletics has benefited much from the establishment of compulsory games on one afternoon a week, which took place in 1896. For this pur-

surmaster, and its Apposition bear testimony to this. The term "remedy," which persists as the name for a holiday, is also to be found among Winchester "notions." The founder's statute is still obeyed : "I will also they shall haue noo remedies. yff the Maister grauntith eny remedies he shall forfeit xl s. tociens quociens Except the kyng or a arche bisshopp or a bisshopp presente in his owne persone in the Scole desyre it."

It is curious to remember that on the occasion of the visit of the present King when Prince of Wales, his request for an extra week's holiday was refused on account of this statute. As it happened there were seven bishops present, and on the Prince's behalf each at once claimed his right to ask for a "remedy," and the week's holiday was therefore not lost.

In conclusion, one may say that the names engraved upon the walls of the school, the arms emblazoned in the windows of the Great Hall, keep green the memory of the great Paulines of the past, and serve to remind the Pauline of to-day that he "was nursed upon the self-same hill," and impress upon his mind how great is the inheritance to which he has succeeded, so that he may boast, with perfect truth, that he is the citizen of no mean city.

FLOREAT SCHOLA PAULINA.



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